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A VIEW

OF THE

CAUSES AND PROGRESS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BY JOHN MOORE, M. D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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Daring Conduct of Mirabeau—The Rabble arrive at Verſailles—A Deputation of Poiſſardes accompany that of the National Aſſembly to the King—He gives a conciliatory Anſwer to the former, and the ſame Night aſſents to the Decrees of the Aſſembly—M. La Fayette, with the Pariſian Army, arrives at Midnight—The Court, the Deputies, and M. La Fayette, retire to Reſt—The

Palace unexpectedly attacked in the Morning—Various Scenes of Horror—Insolence of the Rabble—Magnanimous Behaviour of the Queen—The Royal Family carried to Paris—Reception there.

THE King having postponed his assent to the decrees, which had passed in the National Assembly, and had been presented to him by M. Mounier their President, the Assembly became more and more impatient on account of this delay. Nothing is a surer indication of weakness, in every sense of the word, than betraying symptoms of hesitation and unwillingness to do what is exacted of us, and what it is clear we must do after all. The hesitation of the Court in the present instance injured their cause in various ways. It disposed the public to give credit to those who were continually asserting, that the King considered his interest as

oppoſite to that of the People; and it provoked ſome of the Deputies to a petulance of language inconſiſtent with the reſpect due to the King. "Il me ſemble," ſaid Mirabeau, "qu'on pourroit faire au Roi une addreſſe, dans laquelle on lui parleroit avec cette franchiſe et cette vérité, qu'un fou de Philippe mettoit dans ces paroles triviales: *Que ferois-tu, Philippe, ſi tout le monde diſoit* non *quand tu dis* oui*?"

In the courſe of the ſame debate, Petion declaimed againſt the tranſactions at the entertainment of the Life Guards, which was the firſt time that any notice had been taken of it in the Aſſembly; and he aſſerted, that many things had occurred at that entertain-

* It appears to me, that in an addreſs to the King it would not be improper to ſpeak with the ſame frankneſs and truth that the court fool of Philip conveyed in this ſentence: "What would you do, Philip, if all the world ſaid No when you ſaid Yes?"

ment of a highly criminal nature: on which M. Monſpay obſerved, that vague inſinuations ought not to be regarded; that Petion was therefore bound to mention the names of the guilty perſons, reduce his accuſation to writing, and to ſign it. To this Petion made no anſwer; but it was generally underſtood that the Queen and the Duke de Guiche, Colonel of the Life Guards, were the perſons whom he had chiefly in view.

As Petion ſeemed to ſhrink from this challenge, Mirabeau roſe and ſaid, " Je commence par déclarer que je regarde comme ſouverainement impolitique la dénonciation qui vient d'être provoquée: cependant, ſi on perſiſte à la demander, je ſuis prêt, moi, à fournir tous les détails et à les ſigner; mais auparavant, je demande que cette Aſſemblée déclare que la perſonne du Roi eſt *ſeule* inviolable; et que tous les

autres

autres individus de l'Etat, quels qu'ils ſoient, ſont également ſujets et reſponſables devant la loi *."

At the earneſt requeſt of M. Mounier the Preſident, M. Monſpay withdrew his motion, by which the agitation of a queſtion was prevented which might have had the moſt fatal conſequences. Mirabeau then moved, that the Preſident, at the head of a deputation, ſhould wait on the King with an expoſtulatory addreſs, requeſting him to give a *pure* and *ſimple* ſanction to the articles of the Declaration of Rights and the Conſtitution which had been already

* I begin by declaring, that I conſider the defiance which has been made as highly imprudent; but, if it is inſiſted on, I am ready to give a circumſtantial account of the whole, and to ſign it; but previouſly I expect that this Aſſembly ſhall declare that the perſon of the King *alone* is inviolable; and that all the other individuals in the State, whoſoever they may be, are ſubject and reſponſible to law.

preſented to him; for the reply which the King had made was rather a comment on the articles than an explicit anſwer. Roberſpierre ſaid, that ſo far from being an acceptance it was a cenſure.

The deputation was immediately decreed; but before the members were appointed, the firſt tumultuous band that had left Paris, conducted by Maillard, arrived at Verſailles. A detachment of the moſt furious of the Poiſſardes belonging to it marched directly to the National Aſſembly, and were on the point of forcing the Guards at the gate, when the Aſſembly *prudently* decreed, that they ſhould be admitted.

Maillard gave a ſtrong proof of the influence he had over thoſe women. He prevailed on them to permit him to *ſpeak* for them, and to reſtrain their tongues while he ſpoke. He ſaid "they had come to demand bread, of which there was a great ſcarcity at Paris, and this ſcarcity artificially brought

brought on by traitors. He added, that they had likewiſe come to puniſh the Gardes-du-Corps, who had offered an affront to the patriotic cockade; that it was criminal to wear any other; and that he would ſhew the Aſſembly how both the black cockades and thoſe who wore them ought to be treated." He then took a cockade of that colour, and tore it in pieces with every mark of indignation. His ſpeech and action having excited ſome murmurs, "What," ſaid he, "are we not all brethren?" The Preſident obſerved, that, notwithſtanding their being all brethren, ſtill it was unlawful to tear people in pieces merely for wearing cockades of a wrong colour.

By this time the patience of the women was quite exhauſted. They could keep ſilence no longer; but as they began their remonſtrances all together, it was a conſiderable time before it could be diſtin-

guiſhed that the grievance they chiefly inſiſted on was the ſcarcity of bread.

The Preſident declared, that the Aſſembly were juſt going to deliberate on the ſpeedieſt means of procuring it, and added that the ladies might withdraw.

Inſtead of taking this hint, however, the ladies ſeated themſelves without ceremony on the benches with the Deputies. They did not liſten to the debates with the ſame ſilence which they had preſerved during Maillard's harangue; but took a degree of intereſt in them which muſt have been embarraſſing to all, and peculiarly ſo to the orators whoſe diſcourſe they diſapproved. "Parle donc, Député!" they called to one; "Tais-toi, Député!" to another. Sometimes, inſtead of Député, they addreſſed the ſpeakers whom they did not reliſh by appellations too vile to be mentioned.

In conſequence of a decree which had

paſſed

paſſed immediately before the arrival of the Poiſſardes, M. Mounier and fifteen Deputies went out of the hall. They were again to addreſs the King to give a ſimple aſſent, unclogged with conditions, to the articles which had been preſented to him on the 2d. As ſoon as the Poiſſardes underſtood this, a number of them inſiſted on accompanying the Preſident to the King. M. Mounier, with ſome difficulty, prevailed on them to limit the number to ſix.

The deputation of the National Aſſembly, with their new aſſociates, walked under a heavy ſhower of rain between two rows of an intermingled multitude of armed men and women, from the hall of the Aſſembly to the palace.

When they arrived at the gate, a band of Poiſſardes who followed, inſtead of adhering to the treaty, inſiſted that *twelve* of their number ſhould enter the King's apartment with the Preſident. This new requiſition

was

was complied with, as it muſt have been had they inſiſted upon a hundred.

The Preſident being introduced, with the deputation from the Aſſembly, and the twelve repreſentatives of the Poiſſarde army, made an affecting diſcourſe to the King on the deplorable ſcarcity of proviſions, and the confuſion reſulting from it in the capital. His Majeſty replied in the ſame ſtyle, lamenting the diſtreſſes of the poor in ſuch pathetic terms as charmed the Poiſſardes; and they withdrew in full confidence that his Majeſty would do all in his power to remedy the evil of which they complained. But when they gave an account of this to their conſtituents without, they were accuſed of having been corrupted by the courtiers, threatened with the lantern, and ordered to return and obtain a written order from the King, for bringing ſupplies of grain from various quarters, and for removing all the obſtacles which, they aſſerted,

had

had been artificially created to ſtarve the poor, and prevent Paris from being ſupplied with proviſions. On their return, M. de St. Prieſt is ſaid to have addreſſed them in theſe terms: "Autrefois vous n'aviez qu'un Roi, et vous ne manquiez pas de pain; aujourd'hui, que vous avez douze cents Rois, c'eſt à eux qu'il faut en demander *."

M. de St. Prieſt certainly meant to ſerve the King, by reminding the people that there was not ſuch a ſcarcity of proviſions under a ſingle King as under a great many: but to thoſe who are in want of daily bread it is dangerous to ſay any thing which conveys the idea, that Kings and ſcarcity are at all connected; becauſe they may come to draw the concluſion which the French populace were ſoon after taught, namely, that

* Formerly you had only one King, and you were in no want of bread; at preſent, when you have twelve hundred Kings, you muſt demand it from them.

Kings

Kings were great devourers of poor people's proviſions; and that, as the people were better provided under one King than under many, they would fare ſtill better if they had no King at all to provide for.

When M. Mirabeau accuſed M. St. Prieſt afterwards in the Aſſembly on account of this ſpeech, he denied that he had ever made it. But, however that may be, M. de St. Prieſt delivered to the Poiſſardes a paper ſigned by the King to the effect required, which ſatisfied thoſe who ſent them. Although nothing ſeems more abſurd than to ſuppoſe that any meaſures had been taken by the King or his Miniſters to occaſion an artificial famine, or to prevent the capital from being ſupplied with proviſions, yet ſuch aſſertions were often made by the ſeditious, and as often believed by the ignorant.

During thoſe tranſactions the rabble before the outer gates of the palace, endea-

vouring to force themſelves into the great Court, were repulſed by the Gardes-du-Corps; and one of them, who happened to be an inhabitant of Verſailles, being wounded, the National Guards of that town fired on the Body Guards, and the moſt fatal conſequences ſeemed on the point of taking place, but were fortunately prevented before any perſon was killed on either ſide.

M. Mounier had addreſſed the King on the ſcarcity of proviſions only, while the Poiſſardes remained; but when they were withdrawn, he preſented the Articles of the Conſtitution for the King's acceptance: but ſo great was his reluctance, that he allowed M. Mounier to remain in attendance from ſix in the evening till near ten, being during all this interval balancing whether he ſhould ſanction them in the manner required by the Aſſembly, or not; and then ordering the Preſident into his preſence, he,

with

with a very bad grace, gave his ſimple aſſent, as was exacted from the beginning.

Although there was an elegance and dignity in the manners of Charles I. of Great Britain, of which thoſe of Lewis XVI. were entirely devoid; and although their characters were different in many other reſpects; yet the conduct of the latter on the preſent occaſion has a ſtriking reſemblance to that of the former when the *Petition of Right* was preſented to him by the Commons. After uſing various methods to turn the Commons from their intention, which only confirmed them more ſteadily in it, Charles ſtrove to elude the petition by vague and indeterminate anſwers, inſtead of gracefully complying with it or courageouſly rejecting it at once; and, after ſundry attempts at evaſion, he was at laſt reduced to anſwer the petition in the uſual conciſe and clear form by which a bill is confirmed.

M. Mounier

M. Mounier having returned to the hall, and moſt of the Deputies being tired with ſo long and ſo turbulent a ſitting, retired to their apartments. They were ſoon diſturbed, however, and recalled to the Aſſembly, on the arrival of M. La Fayette and the Pariſian army.

Whatever alarm an expedition, the object of which they knew not, might occaſion in the breaſts of the Deputies, it was ſoon removed by the conduct of M. La Fayette, who, after having waited on the King, preſented himſelf to the National Aſſembly with every appearance of reſpect and ſubmiſſion. He lamented to M. Mounier the diſorders and jealouſies which had obliged him to march at the head of the National Guards to Verſailles; expreſſing at the ſame time his hope and belief, that an apology from the Gardes-du-Corps, and their adoption of the National cockade, would produce

an

an oblivion of the paſt and a good underſtanding in future.

It was midnight when the Pariſian army arrived at Verſailles. The weather was cold; and it continued to rain with violence. The ſoldiers took refuge in taverns, coffee-houſes, under porticos, wherever they could reſt, and find ſhelter. Refreſhments were diſtributed among them; and an appearance of good humour inſpired hopes that all danger of tumult was over for that night at leaſt.

When M. La Fayette perceived this, he returned to the palace, and gave ſuch an account of this apparent tranquillity, that the King and Queen retired to reſt. Having appointed different guards, and placed ſentinels where he judged it neceſſary, M. La Fayette again entered the National Aſſembly, and gave M. Mounier the ſame aſſurances that he had given the King. Notwithſtanding the great need that the Preſident

of

of the Aſſembly, after ſo very diſtreſſing a ſitting of eighteen hours, muſt have had of repoſe, he told M. La Fayette, that if he had any fear of tumults in the night, he was ready to remain in the hall, and to perſuade his brother Deputies to do the ſame, that they might unite their efforts with his for the preſervation of peace.

La Fayette anſwered, that, having already given the neceſſary directions, he was ſo convinced of the general pacific diſpoſition, that he was himſelf going to take a few hours reſt.

It has been aſſerted by M. La Fayette's enemies, that he *affected* to retire to reſt, knowing that the palace was to be attacked, that he might not be thought to have any part in the horrid attempt which took place during his abſence. But whatever blame he may be charged with for not taking more effectual means for guarding the palace, or for giving way to

the deſire of reſt at ſuch a period, the exceſſive fatigues both of mind and body which he had undergone, precludes the ſuſpicion of affectation; and his conduct from the moment he was awaked, as well as his general behaviour and character through life, muſt ſatisfy the candid and impartial, that the accuſation is unjuſt, and that he had not the leaſt notion when he retired that the caſtle would be attacked.

Notwithſtanding ſome ſcenes of confuſion which no activity could prevent, the manner in which he ſuppreſſed the great inſurrection in the Champ de Mars on the 17th of the following July, and the ſtate of tranquillity in which Paris was kept during the whole time that M. La Fayette had the command of the National Guards, compared with the horrid ſcenes that were acted there after it was entruſted to others, afford reaſon to believe that it would have been fortunate for the Royal Family, and for France,

France, that he had been continued in that command; in which caſe the inſurrection of the 10th of Auguſt would not have happened; or, if it had, the iſſue would probably have been different, and the maſſacres in September would certainly have been prevented.

M. La Fayette retired to reſt about three or four in the morning; and, at about ſix, different groups of the rabble of both ſexes, who had left Paris the preceding day, and had been ſpending the night in drinking, met near the palace. It was evident that M. La Fayette's orders were ill obeyed. The external courts were unguarded in ſeveral places. It was propoſed by ſome of this united band of ruffians to attack the Gardes-du-Corps, who were few in number. This was no ſooner propoſed than executed. Without meeting with any reſiſtance from the National Militia of Verſailles, thoſe wretches ruſhed furiouſly acroſs the courts,

crying, "Tuez les Gardes-du-Corps, point de quartier." Two of thoſe gallant men were killed, others wounded and driven within the palace. One party of the aſſailants, with horrid threats and imprecations, attempted to force their way into the apartments of the Queen. M. de Miomandre, having given the alarm to thoſe in the inner chamber that the Queen's life was in danger, oppoſed the entrance of the murderers with heroic gallantry, until he fell covered with honourable wounds.

Two wretches, dreſſed like Poiſſardes and armed with pikes, ſtepping over his body, ruſhed into the Queen's bed chamber. They expreſſed redoubled rage on finding that ſhe had eſcaped.

The terrified Princeſs had run half naked into the King's chamber. He on his part had at the firſt alarm haſtened to hers by another paſſage; and ſome of the attendants, anxious for the life of the Dau-

phin, had run and fetched him from the children's apartment; and when the King returned to his own chamber, he found the young Prince in the arms of his mother.

The Marquis de la Fayette, whoſe lodgings were in the town at ſome diſtance from the palace, as ſoon as he was informed thatit was attacked, ſtarted from his bed, mounted his horſe, and having ſummoned a company of grenadiers, many of whom had formerly belonged to the Gardes Françoiſes, and were now incorporated with the National Troops, conjured them to accompany him to the palace, and ſave the Royal Family from aſſaſſination, and the French name from laſting infamy. They arrived as the ruffians were attempting to force the King's apartment.

The firſt thought that occurred to the humane mind of the King, after finding his own family protected, was to ſave the Body

Guards, who were purſued and ſearched for with ſanguinary fury by the aſſaſſins. He recommended them in the moſt earneſt terms to M. La Fayette and his grenadiers. Fifteen of the Gardes-du-Corps, who had oppoſed the firſt entrance of the mob into the palace, having been ſurrounded and overpowered, were ſtill in the hands of thoſe ſavages, who were preparing to put them to death at the bottom of the grand ſtair-caſe. "Grenadiers," cried La Fayette to his ſoldiers, "ſouffrirez-vous donc que de braves gens ſoient ainſi lâchement aſſaſſinés *?"

The Gardes-du-Corps, under the protection of the Grenadiers, were immediately conducted into the palace, while La Fayette endeavoured to ſooth and mollify the populace.

* Grenadiers, will you then ſuffer thoſe brave men to be aſſaſſinated in that cowardly manner?

Eight

Eight other gentlemen of the Gardes du-Corps, moſtly old officers, having been driven from the palace, were concealed in one room in the town. A party of the moſt profligate of the Paris mob were informed where they were, ſeized them, and conducted them back on purpoſe to put them to death directly under the King's windows; in which avowed deſign they were not oppoſed by the Militia of Verſailles. One of the priſoners, an old officer with gray hairs, addreſſing the multitude, ſaid: "Nôtre vie eſt entre vos mains; vous pouvez nous égorger; mais vous ne l'abrégerez que de quelques inſtans; et nous ne mourrons pas deſhonorés *."

An officer of the Pariſian National Guards, ſtruck with this ſhort addreſs, and the un-

* Our lives are in your power; you may murder us; but that will abridge our lives but a ſhort time; and we ſhall not die diſhonoured.

daunted military looks of the priſoners, burſt through the crowd, threw his arms around the venerable officer's neck, and cried, " Non, nous n'égorgerons pas de braves gens comme vous *."

Thoſe who hitherto had been paſſive ſpectators, and would have continued ſo to the conſummation of the intended wickedneſs, affected by the words and fired by the example of the Pariſian officer, immediately joined their efforts to his, and ſaved the gentlemen from the ſwords of thoſe murderers.

As ſoon as M. Mounier heard of theſe tranſactions, he haſtened to the National Aſſembly, and made a propoſal, which was ſupported by other Deputies, that the National Aſſembly ſhould be immediately tranſferred to the grand ſaloon of the palace, that they might at once aſſiſt his Majeſty

* No, we will not put to death brave men like you,

with

with their advice, and contribute to his protection at ſuch an alarming criſis. But Mirabeau exclaimed, "Je m'y oppoſe; il n'eſt pas de nôtre dignité, il n'eſt pas même ſage, de déſerter nôtre poſte, au moment où des dangers *imaginaires* ou réels ſemblent menacer la choſe publique *."

At a time when all the Aſſembly muſt have known that armed ruffians had aſſaulted the palace, murdered the guards, and forced their way into the royal apartments, to talk of dignity, and expreſs doubts of the reality of the King's danger, required all that unſhaken effrontery which Mirabeau poſſeſſed. No part of his conduct expoſes him to the ſuſpicion of being connected in ſome degree with the inſurrection, ſo much as this. The moſt dignified conduct the Aſſembly could have followed would have been to

* It is unbecoming our dignity, it is even unwiſe, for us to deſert our poſt at a moment when real or imaginary dangers ſeem to threaten the public.

have

have adopted the generous propoſal of their Preſident.

The King's mind was greatly affected with the death of the guards who had fallen in his defence; and, notwithſtanding all the aſſurances of M. La Fayette, while he walked through his palace accompanied and protected by the General, he was making continual enquiries reſpecting the Gardes-du-Corps; and his anxiety carried him ſo far at laſt, that he appeared at the balcony, aſſuring the crowd below, that they had been unjuſtly accuſed, and even interceding in their favour.

Some of the populace calling out for the Queen, ſhe appeared at the balcony with the Dauphin and the Princeſs Royal at her ſide.

No tyrant, giddy with the plenitude of power, ever puſhed the wantonneſs of deſpotiſm to a more diſguſting length than the wretches who filled the courts below. Inſtead of being moved at this mark of condeſcenſion,

deſcenſion, ſome of the barbarians called out "Point d'enfans!" No conſtruction could be put on ſuch an exclamation, at ſuch a moment, but that it was thought that the Queen had brought the children as a protection to herſelf, and that the wretches intended to fire at her when they were removed. It was moſt natural for the Queen herſelf to think ſo, becauſe ſhe had been frequently told that their curſes and threats had been particularly directed againſt her.

Unmoved by this reflection, ſhe made the children withdraw, and inſtantly turning to the multitude ſhe ſtood alone, upright, and undaunted.

Struck with admiration of her majeſtic appearance and intrepid behaviour, the moſt barbarous for a moment forgot their rancour, and joined in the repeated ſhouts of applauſe that burſt from all quarters, in the midſt of which the Queen retired.

Some time after the Queen had diſappeared,

peared, thoſe who directed the movements of the multitude reſumed the great object of this expedition. Voices were heard exclaiming *Le Roi à Paris!* The voices multiplied every moment; and at laſt the cries of *A Paris! à Paris!* were univerſal.

The King had no choice left. It would not have been in the power of M. La Fayette himſelf, perhaps, to have ſaved the lives of the Royal Family, had he refuſed. He declared his intention, therefore, of going that very day to Paris with his family; and his intentions being notified to the crowd, by notes and cards thrown from the windows of the palace, were received by the people with their uſual noiſy indications of joy.

As ſoon as it was announced in the National Aſſembly, that the King was diſpoſed to go to Paris, Mirabeau ſaid, " Je penſe que nous devons être rapprochés du Monarque, pour l'accélération de nôtre ouvrage.

Je

Je demande qu'il ſoit décreté, que le Roi et l'Aſſemblée Nationale ſeront inſéparables pendant la préſente ſeſſion *."

This was unanimouſly agreed to; and it was decreed at the ſame time, that a deputation of one hundred members of the National Aſſembly ſhould accompany the King to the capital.

Of all the diſagreeable circumſtances which counterbalance the joys of ſovereignty, and we are told there are a great many, none are more revolting to an ingenuous mind than the ſacrifices which Kings are thought to be under the neceſſity of making to policy and what are called reaſons of ſtate.

In the anſwer which the King made to

* I am of opinion that we ought to be always near the perſon of the Monarch, for the acceleration of the public buſineſs. I propoſe that it be decreed, that the King and the National Aſſembly ſhall be inſeparable during the preſent ſeſſion.

the

the deputation ſent to him with the above decree, are the following expreſſions: " Je reçois avec une vive ſenſibilité les nouveaux témoignages de l'attachement de l'Aſſemblée; le vœu de mon cœur eſt de ne jamais me ſéparer d'elle," &c.*

After the fatigue and agonies of ſuch a night, the Royal Family certainly were much in need of an interval of repoſe; but they were deſtined to undergo ſome very painful hours before they obtained it.

The multitude which ſurrounded the palace of Verſailles began to manifeſt ſymptoms of ill humour at the delay of the King's journey. Every conſideration for the unfortunate family was ſacrificed to the impatience of the Poiſſardes and their ſavage paramours.

The Royal Family left Verſailles a little

* I have the moſt lively ſenſe of this freſh teſtimony of the Aſſembly's attachment: the earneſt wiſh of my heart is never to be ſeparated from it.

after

after one o'clock, which was announced by a volley from the troops. The company of the Hundred Swiſs ſurrounded the King's coach; a troop of dragoons preceded, and another immediately followed it. The Pariſian National Guards had begun their march a ſhort time before. Various bands of the Poiſſardes were intermingled with all the different corps of this ſtrange army—ſome ſeated in waggons, ornamented with green boughs, and white, red, and blue ribbons—ſome aſtride upon the cannon—many on horſeback; generally two on the ſame horſe, with the hats of the Gardes-du-Corps on their heads, the belts acroſs their ſhoulders, and armed with ſabres—rending the air every inſtant with their ſavage ſhouts and the choruſes of their vile ſongs. In the middle of one band of thoſe ſanguinary hags, two men carried long pikes, on the points of which were the heads of the murdered Gardes-du-Corps.

At certain diſtances the whole proceſſion was made to halt, for the purpoſe of firing freſh volleys, and that the ſoldiers might be refreſhed with wine and a little reſt. On thoſe occaſions the Poiſſardes on the carriages and on horſeback deſcended and joined hands in horrid dances around the bloody heads that were fixed on the pikes. What rendered the ſcene completely ſhocking was the preſence of the Gardes-du-Corps who had been ſaved by the grenadiers, and were now marched in triumph, diſarmed, and in ſight of the heads of their murdered companions. Theſe ſcenes of ſavage mirth were repeated at intervals during the journey, which laſted from a little after one till ſeven in the evening, about which time the Royal Family arrived at Paris.

The town was illuminated. The King was received with ſhouts and other demonſtrations of joy, which, he was told, proceeded entirely from the overflowing loy-

alty

alty of the inhabitants. As the proceſſion moved to the Hotel de Ville, the exclamations of *Vive le Roi!* reſounded from all ſides; but the unfortunate Monarch was ſufficiently acquainted with the value of ſuch exclamations. On entering the hall of the Town-houſe, where a throne was prepared for his reception, a very dutiful ſpeech was pronounced to him by one of the Preſidents of the Common Council. The King, no doubt, was alſo acquainted at this time with the value of ſuch dutiful ſpeeches; and the reliance he put in the profeſſions of loyalty which he heard was probably in exact proportion to the ſincerity with which they were pronounced.

The Queen was preſent at all this; and one remarkable proof of her preſence of mind in the midſt of ſcenes which might have diſturbed even men of courage and firmneſs of character, was taken notice of, namely, that when the Mayor was repeat-

ing to thoſe around him what the King had ſaid to him on his entering Paris, he happened to forget a ſentence which the King had pronounced; the Queen, overhearing this, inſtantly corrected him, and put him in mind of the omiſſion.

CHAPTER XVI.

Reflections on French and British Loyalty—Anecdote regarding the Duke of Orleans—Reflections on his Character and the Part he took in the Revolution—On the Conduct and Views of Mirabeau—Expressions of four Persons in a Tavern at Seve—Dismal State of the Royal Family on their Arrival at the Tuileries.

THE French have been thought to possess such an affectionate and respectful attachment to their Monarchs, as rendered them by much the most loyal nation in Europe. No man was more of that opinion than the author of this narrative. The events of the present dreadful revolution afford cause of suspicion that this was at no time the case in *reality* so much as it was in *appearance*.

It will be still acknowledged, however,

that no people ever diſplayed more attachment to the perſon, or more zeal for the glory, of their Monarchs, whether they were of worthleſs characters like Henry III. or of benevolent ones like Lewis XVI. than the French have always done, as long as the Monarch has had the addreſs or good fortune to retain his power. While the power of the Prince flouriſhes, the loyalty of the ſubject ſhines green as the laurel, and ſtands firm as a rock; but, when his power is in decay, their loyalty withers with it, and ſhakes like the poplar leaf.

The people of England have been accuſed by their neighbours of poſſeſſing but a very moderate portion of loyalty; and what little they have is ſaid to be of a very cold and phlegmatic nature. James II. however was one of the moſt unpopular Princes that ever ſat on their throne: he provoked them to the higheſt degree, by perfidious deſigns againſt their liberty, and open attacks on

their religion: yet when the ſunſhine of his proſperity was overcaſt with the blackeſt clouds of adverſity; when his favourites, his relations, his very children, forſook him; and when, endeavouring to fly from the ſtorm, he was ſtopped at Feverſham, and brought back a priſoner to his capital; how was this ungracious King, thus overwhelmed with calamity, received by the Engliſh people? They were ſo much moved with compaſſion for his unhappy fate, ſo much affected with the ſight of diſtreſſed royalty, that they forgot the King's miſconduct by contemplating his misfortunes; the exceſs of his miſery operated in his favour as if it had been virtue; and the dying embers of loyalty began to revive within their breaſts, and to glow with more fervour than ever. This alarmed the Prince of Orange; for although he could have formed no idea of ſuch ſenſibility from any feelings of his own, yet the ſympathy of the Engliſh nation did

not eſcape his diſcernment: he began to dread that compaſſion for their unfortunate Monarch would cool their gratitude to himſelf. He therefore immediately opened every door and port which could have oppoſed James's withdrawing from the kingdom, and made uſe of every art that could induce the infatuated Monarch to adopt that meaſure. Such was the impreſſion which the misfortunes of James made on the hearts of the inhabitants of the ſouthern part of this iſland. As for thoſe of the north, ſo far was the attachment of his friends there from depending on his proſperity, that their ſteady, though ill-placed, loyalty never was more firm; nor were they ever more ready to ſhed their blood in his cauſe and that of his poſterity, than after they were wretched exiles abandoned by all the reſt of the world.

As there is much reaſon to believe, that the inſurrection at Paris was begun by a ſet of wretches hired for the purpoſe; and as none

none of the democratic party had the means of ſo extenſive a bribery except the Duke of Orleans, it is pretty generally ſuppoſed that he was the firſt mover of the whole; and that he acted in conjunction with Mirabeau. Whatever truth there may be in the firſt ſuppoſition, there is great reaſon to think the ſecond is ill founded.

Some time previous to the month of October, a Secret Committee, conſiſting of the Duke of Orleans, Meſſrs. Mirabeau, La Clos*, L'Abbé Sieyes, La Touche Treville, met at the village of Monrouge near Paris, and agreed on a ſcheme for placing the Duke of Orleans in ſuch a diſtinguiſhed ſituation

* M. La Clos was an officer of artillery, of eminence in his profeſſion, and ſtill more diſtinguiſhed for his wit. He is author of a romance entitled "Les Liaiſons Dangereuſes," written with great ſpirit, but in which the profligate manners of the French are painted with a glow which offends modeſty. This performance acquired to him the patronage of the Duke of Orleans.

in the government, that, by the aſſiſtance of his fortune and under the influence of his name, this junto would have the command of the mob of Paris, and a deciſive weight in the National Aſſembly.

At the critical period after the taking of the Baſtile, but before the King had yielded to the urgent and frequent remonſtrances of the National Aſſembly for diſmiſſing his new Miniſters, and ordering the troops to withdraw from the neighbourhood of Paris, Mirabeau thought *that* a fortunate moment for the Duke to obtain the ſituation which he wiſhed to ſee him placed in.

The Duke being then at Verſailles, Mirabeau ſtated to him the alarm under which the Miniſters and the whole Court were, on account of the uncertain ſtate of events at Paris, the ſigns of defection in the troops, and other circumſtances which rendered it probable that nothing he could aſk would be refuſed; and perſuaded him to go directly

rectly and demand an audience of the King, to offer his ſervices for the reſtoration of the public tranquillity, and to requeſt at the ſame time that he himſelf might be appointed *Lieutenant General of the Kingdom.*

When Orleans entered the caſtle of Verſailles, there was every appearance of alarm and confuſion. Exaggerated accounts had been juſt received of ſcenes of bloodſhed at Paris: the ladies of the court were croſſing the apartments in tears—ſome recommending themſelves to the protection of the officers, who were hurrying out with orders, or returning with freſh rumours of the tranſactions in the capital. The Cabinet Council was ſitting, without being able to decide what meaſures ſhould be adopted. The Duke of Orleans waited till it broke up. The terror which appeared in every countenance, and which ſpread like a contagion, at length ſeized his own breaſt. It ought,

no

no doubt, to have had a contrary effect: the confuſion and diſmay which he obſerved around him ought to have rendered him more ſerene, and confirmed him in his purpoſe; ſince they increaſed the probability that all his demands would be granted: but men under the influence of fear cannot reaſon. Ignorant of what the Councii had reſolved on, dreading what they might poſſibly do if provoked, the Duke accoſted the King with a beating heart, and was quite diſconcerted when the Monarch demanded what his buſineſs was. Conſcious guilt, and an inſtantaneous pang for the injuries he meditated againſt the perſon he addreſſed, probably added to his confuſion. Afraid to utter what he had been inſtructed to ſay, and under the neceſſity of ſaying ſomething, he aſked permiſſion to make a journey to England, in caſe the preſent diſturbances ſhould increaſe.

Nothing

Nothing could ſurpaſs the indignation with which Mirabeau heard of the reſult of an affair on which he had founded ſome ambitious hopes; and he hardly ever after mentioned the Duke of Orleans but in terms full of contempt. What could tempt the Duke of Orleans to take any part in a revolution, where he had ſo much to loſe and ſo little to gain, ſeems difficult to account for. His ſituation, in point of rank and fortune, was infinitely ſuperior to that which any talent, quality, or claim he poſſeſſed, except that of birth, could ever have raiſed him to. The idea of ranking men according to their intrinſic value, and removing artificial diſtinctions, ought to have appeared as dreadful to him as it does to thouſands all over Europe, who ſicken and tremble at the thought, from conſciouſneſs that it would preclude every mark of reſpect that is now ſhewn them. A fit of childiſh ill-humour at the Court rendered him the tool of a few men

devoid

devoid of principle but endowed with talents, whom he expected to govern, and who he imagined would continue as obſequious and ſubordinate to him through all the mazes and confuſions of a revolution as they were in times of tranquillity. He did not conſider, that although the former are often the harveſts of wicked men, yet it is only of wicked men of intrepidity and talents. He did not conſider, that it is only in times of order that men of mediocrity retain pre-eminence, and that genius bends before it. The deluſions of ſelf-love muſt have ſtrangely obſcured the penetration of the Duke of Orleans to hinder him from ſeeing this. No man in France was more intereſted than he was to prevent the progreſs of the Revolution. The very name of *Egalité* ought to have ſounded ominous and harſh to his ears as the croaking of ten thouſand ravens; and ſo it would have done, had it not been for the deluſive ſelf-love already

ready mentioned, and that thoughtleſs levity which belonged to his character, and ſeems to have run through his race.

Among thoſe from whom he was deſcended, and who bore the ſame name, there was not one of an elevated or even of a ſteady character: weakneſs and frivolity ſeem to have pervaded the whole family, with the exception of one; and he, by the profligacy of his manners, diſhonoured a great ſhare of good nature, and another quality, which is not always united with good nature, namely a very brilliant wit. M. Egalité has been thought to have inherited all the qualities of his anceſtors, without excepting a certain portion of the laſt.

Was it a love of popularity that allured this unhappy man into the vortex of the Revolution? No man living, perhaps, ever deſpiſed public opinion more than the Duke of Orleans: and he paid the uſual tax impoſed on that kind of contempt; for no man

of

of his rank and riches was ever more deſpiſed by the public.

A little before the Revolution, it is true, he began to alter his conduct, and give ſome indications of an inclination to acquire popularity. During a dearth he ordered diſtributions of bread to be made among the people, and relieved the inhabitants of the towns and the peaſantry of his lands from certain oppreſſive rights to which he had a claim. This very conduct might have rendered him ſuſpected; for we do not find thoſe ſudden changes in the characters of men in real life, that are often to be met with among the perſonæ dramatis. A vicious man does not become virtuous in an inſtant. When one of ſuch a character, therefore, is ſuddenly ſeized with a fit of oſtentatious benevolence, it may juſtly create a ſuſpicion that it is for ſome ill purpoſe.

The applauſe, however, which the Duke of Orleans received on this occaſion, ſeemed

to confirm his new taſte for popularity, and encouraged him to make the famous proteſt for which he was for a ſhort time exiled from court, and obliged to live on one of his eſtates. The reſentment againſt the King on this account, and againſt the Queen on account of her diſlike of him, which ſhe took no pains to conceal, was carefully kept up by men who had an intereſt in his continuing in oppoſition to the Court; and thoſe men, aſſiſted by his own levity of character and his affectation of Engliſh manners, inſpired him with a taſte for politics for which he had no natural turn, and gradually led him from one ſtep to another into meaſures as contrary to his own intereſt as to that of the Court.

The proceſſion that was made through the ſtreets of Paris in the preceding July of his buſt, had probably contributed to render his head more giddy than uſual, and more ready to follow the counſel of thoſe who urged

urged him to promote, by his emiſſaries and money, the inſurrection which carried the Pariſian army to Verſailles, for the purpoſe of either forcing the King to fly out of the kingdom, or of obliging him, and of courſe the National Aſſembly, to reſide at Paris; by which the Duke expected that his own influence would be augmented, and the power of the Crown reduced, ſo as to ſecure himſelf from the fate he had reaſon to expect, if it ſhould ever recover its ancient vigour.

But that he had formed any plan for the aſſaſſination of the King is not to be credited: 1ſt, Becauſe the reſearches made by the Court of Chatelet, which ſhewed ſufficient zeal for finding matter of condemnation againſt him, made no ſuch diſcovery. 2d, Becauſe, to have placed the Duke of Orleans on the throne, the death not only of the King and Dauphin, and Monſieur the King's eldeſt brother, was neceſſary, but

alſo

alſo the proſcription of the Comte d'Artois, and his ſons; which ſuppoſes a degree of atrocity beyond the wickedneſs of the Duke of Orleans, wicked as he was; for although that ſpecies of profligacy which belonged to the Duke of Orleans' character makes a man liable to have every kind of wickedneſs readily believed of him, yet it may be unconnected with any cruelty of diſpoſition. His voting for the King's death is given as a proof of his cruelty; but there is reaſon to think that he was terrified into it, and that it is only a proof of his want of courage. 3dly, Becauſe thoſe wretches who burſt into the Queen's bed-chamber directed their threats and their attempts againſt her, and not the King; which, on the ſuppoſition that the inſurrection had been raiſed with a view of placing the Duke of Orleans on the throne, they would have done.

Beſide, although the Duke himſelf was a man likely to be ſeduced into ſchemes for

which he had neither taſte nor talents, yet he was devoid of that daring ambition which excites to hazardous crimes, *regnandi gratiâ*; for all his ideas were grovelling, and all his pleaſures ſenſual.

On the whole, it is moſt probable that he was prompted to laviſh his money in raiſing this inſurrection by a few men at this time in his confidence, with a view to diſconcert the meaſures of the Court; while their grand object was to have their patron placed in ſome ſituation of great influence in the government, not for his own ſake, but that through him they might obtain lucrative offices.

With reſpect to Mirabeau, it is evident that he did not act in concert with the Duke of Orleans; and it does not appear that he had any hand in exciting the inſurrection: but he certainly endeavoured to turn it to his own purpoſes when excited, by promoting the removal of the King and

National

National Aſſembly to Paris, where he expected, from the efforts of his own genius, to acquire a degree of importance ſuperior to what he could expect from the patronage of the Duke of Orleans, by rendering his influence in the National Aſſembly, and of courſe his weight with the Court, greater than it was while they remained at Verſailles. He preferred a monarchy to a republic—but ſuch a monarchy as ſhould leave the King in a great meaſure dependent on men of talents and popularity, being convinced that he himſelf poſſeſſed more of both than any member of the Aſſembly. He acted, however, ſometimes in concert with men who were inclined to a republic, and whoſe ſchemes he would probably have rendered abortive if he had lived.

But, although neither the Duke of Orleans nor thoſe who had the management of him had made the aſſaſſination of the King or Queen an article in this inſurrec-

tion and conſpiracy, they could not be ignorant that their murder might have been the conſequence. The calumnies and miſrepreſentations which had been circulated to excite the multitude to go to Verſailles, were of a nature to have carried ſome of the moſt fanatical or moſt furious of the mob beyond the letter of their inſtructions; and there can be little doubt but that thoſe who murdered the Gardes-du-Corps at the door of the Queen's apartment, and forced into her bed-chamber, intended her deſtruction; and if the King had been found with her, they would both in all probability have met with the ſame fate. Therefore all the guilt which belongs to men who muſt have foreſeen the poſſibility of ſuch a horrid cataſtrophe, and took no means to prevent it, falls upon the firſt movers of this inſurrection; and that the murder both of the King and Queen was ſometimes in the thoughts of ſome of the wretches employed in this expedition,

expedition, appears from the teſtimony of thoſe who declared, that on the march to Verſailles four perſons, in the dreſs of women, having ſtopped to drink at a tavern at Seve, one ſaid to the others, "Ma foi, je ne peux me reſoudre à le tuer, lui; cela n'eſt pas juſte; mais pour elle, volontiers:" to which another was overheard to anſwer, "Sauve qui peut, il faudra voir quand nous y ſerons *."

The project of bringing the King to Paris had been taken up and executed in too ſudden and rapid a manner to allow time for the Louvre, which had been long out of repair, to be decently fitted up for the reception of the Royal Family; but the contraſt between the meaneſt lodgings in Paris

* On my conſcience I cannot bring myſelf to think of killing *him*; it would not be juſt; but as for *her* I have no ſcruple.

Let them ſave themſelves who can; we'll ſee how things turn out when we get there.

and the magnificent apartments of Verſailles, is not ſo great as that between the ſtate of mind with which this unhappy family entered their new reſidence and what they had formerly been accuſtomed to enjoy. The Queen in particular muſt have felt this reverſe, and all the horrors of the dreadful journey, with uncommon ſeverity; for her temper and turn of mind had rendered her enjoyment of the *preſent*, undiſturbed by reflection on the *paſt* or fear of the *future*—

Lætus in præſens animus, quod ultra eſt
Oderit curare; et amara lento
Temperet riſu.

Sufferings to her were new! Her morning and alſo her meridian way through life had been hitherto ſtrewed with the ſofteſt and moſt fragrant roſe leaves, among which hardly one little thorn had ever accidentally fallen.

From the King's firſt entrance within the precincts

precincts of the Louvre, his friends had forebodings of what has happened ſince. The walls of the Louvre have been like the towers of Julius,

With many a foul and midnight murder fed.

No wonder, therefore, that to the alarmed imagination of many friends of the Royal Family of France, treaſon, aſſaſſination, and other dreadful ſpectres ſeemed, in prophetic viſion, to haunt that fatal building.

Veſtibulum ante ipſum ——————
Luctus et ultrices poſuêre cubilia Curæ:
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Terribiles viſu formæ: Lethumque, Laborque:
Tum conſanguineus Lethi Sopor, et mala mentis
Gaudia, mortiferumque adverſo in limine Bellum.

Although the King had agreed to go with his family to Paris, in conſequence of the requeſt of the multitude at a time when it would have been dangerous to have refuſed, he did not imagine that his conſtant

reſidence there was expected, or would have been exacted. On his firſt arrival, however, at the Hotel de Ville, he was requeſted to permit that aſſurances might be given to the people that he intended to fix his abode in the capital. To this he anſwered, that he had not come to *a final reſolution* on that head. The unfortunate Monarch ſoon found, that thoſe who had brought him had come to *a final reſolution*; and he found it neceſſary to write a letter to the National Aſſembly, which began in the following terms:

" MESSIEURS,

" Les temoignages d'affection et de fidélité que j'ai recus des habitans de ma bonne ville de Paris, et les inſtances de la Commune, me determinent à y fixer mon ſejour le plus habituel, &c.*"

* The proofs of affection and fidelity that I have received from the inhabitants of my good city of Paris, and the entreaties of the Municipality, have determined me to fix my moſt uſual reſidence there.

Nothing

Nothing can be a ſtronger proof of the wretched ſtate of controul under which the King was, than this letter; and it is impoſſible to think, without indignation, of the triumphant deriſion with which thoſe expreſſions of partiality for his *bonne ville de Paris* were read by his enemies.

As it had been already decreed, that the National Aſſembly and the King were inſeparable during the preſent ſeſſion, it followed of courſe that, if he remained at Paris, the Aſſembly muſt remove there alſo; but ſome members, foreſeeing the conſequences, objected to this removal, and gave for their reaſons that the Deputies would be under the controul of the populace, and in danger of being inſulted by them. This argument could have little effect, however; becauſe it was on that very account that thoſe who had moſt influence with the Aſſembly wiſhed it to be fixed in the capital.

CHAPTER XVII.

Some principal Members of the National Aſſembly retire—The Royal Family lodge in the Palace of the Tuileries—The Duke of Orleans goes to England—Scarcity—A Baker murdered—Decrees for the Suppreſſion of Inſurrections—Roberſpierre oppoſes them—Plan for General Election every two Years—Reflections.

M. MALOUET, perceiving that the Aſſembly would at laſt agree to the King's being removed to Paris, propoſed, that the decree which rendered the perſons of the Deputies inviolable ſhould be renewed and enforced. M. Malouet's meaning was to ſhew to the whole nation, that he conſidered the National Repreſentatives would be in more danger and leſs independent in the capital than where they had hitherto

therto aſſembled; and he imagined that, by a renewal of the decree, and turning the eyes of the nation on the danger he dreaded, he would render it leſs than it would otherwiſe be.

Mirabeau oppoſed this as unneceſſary, becauſe there was a decree to that purpoſe already; and he added an aſſertion which the ſubſequent events of the Revolution have not confirmed—namely, that "their characters were ſo ſacred, that the moſt unworthy among them, if any of them could be conceived to be unworthy, would be ſo protected, that no aſſailant would ever be able to reach them, without paſſing over the dead bodies of many virtuous men, ready to ſhed their blood in their defence."

While the Aſſembly were debating on this ſubject, a deputation from the *Commune* of Paris entered; and Briſſot, who at that time belonged to it, pronounced a diſcourſe expreſſive of the joy of the capital in the expec-

expectation of receiving the National Aſſembly within her boſom; and aſſuring them of perſonal protection and the enjoyment of the utmoſt freedom of debate; for that the Commune of Paris were filled with ſentiments of reſpect for the National Aſſembly, and deſirous of opportunities of ſhewing their obedience to it. Thoſe aſſurances of the Commune were afterwards made good in the ſame manner as the aſſertion of Mirabeau.

There is little doubt but that Briſſot acted in concert with Mirabeau on this occaſion; for although the former was a republican, and the latter wiſhed to preſerve the monarchical form of government, in which he expected to have great weight, they both imagined that their different views would be promoted by the removal of the National Aſſembly as well as the King from Verſailles to Paris.

The violence which had been uſed to the Royal Family, and the deſign of removing the

the Aſſembly to that very place in which the violence originated, diſguſted M. Lally-Tolendal and M. Mounier ſo much, that, deſpairing of being of any ſervice to their country as Deputies, they withdrew from the Aſſembly and retired to the provinces. Many other Deputies of leſs diſtinction followed their example. But M. Mounier did not announce his intention of retiring until he had made a motion for decreeing an order for an enquiry into the maſſacres committed on the 6th of October, and for proſecuting the authors. It will eaſily be believed, that many were diſpleaſed at any ſuch inveſtigation. It does honour to M. Mounier's character as a friend of juſtice and a man of firmneſs, and to the characters of thoſe who ſupported his motion, that they perſevered in ſpite of all oppoſition until it was carried; which was the foundation of the ſubſequent proceedings of the Chatelet on the ſubject.

M. Malouet,

M. Malouet, however, and others who equally diſapproved of the violent meaſure of removing the King from Verſailles, thought it their duty to remain, in the hopes of obtaining for their country a Conſtitution as like to that of Great Britain as circumſtances would admit, and equally free from the hopeleſs and gloomy tranquillity of deſpotiſm, and the execrable exceſſes of vulgar licentiouſneſs.

While a hall was preparing for the reception of the Deputies at Paris, they had a few more ſittings at Verſailles, in which it was decreed that the right of propoſing laws, as well as that of impoſing taxes, belonged to the Aſſembly alone; and the King's Miniſters were declared reſponſible for whatever was tranſacted in their different departments.

Theſe regulations ſeem of real importance in a free Conſtitution; but they likewiſe decreed that the King's title of King of France ſhould be changed into that of King of *the French*; becauſe it is more cor-

rect to call the Supreme Magiſtrate the Governor of Men than of the Country where they live. So much preciſion on ſuch a ſubject, however, was more worthy of grammarians than of legiſlators. But ſhould monarchy ever be eſtabliſhed again in France, it would not be ſurpriſing that the Monarch, in contemplation of the monſtrous deeds which have been lately perpetrated by French men, ſhould rather chooſe to be called King of the country than of the inhabitants; and there can be little doubt but that the great perſonage who ſtill poſſeſſes the title of King of France would infinitely rather renounce it for ever than live a ſingle day among ſuch ſubjects.

For a week at leaſt after the Royal Family were lodged in the Tuileries, they were under the mortifying neceſſity of ſhewing themſelves at the windows every day, and ſome days oftener than once, merely to ſatisfy the clamorous curioſity of the multitude.

titude. Even if this had proceeded from affection, the frequent repetition of ſuch demands would have rendered them oppreſſive; but they were doubly ſo, as it was evident they came from thoſe who expreſſed no attachment to the Royal Family, and wiſhed only to enjoy the triumph of having obliged them to come to Paris.

M. La Fayette had for ſome time perceived that the National Guards were not ſo ready and cheerful in their obedience to his orders as formerly. On ſome occaſions they had even manifeſted a tendency to mutiny; which was the more alarming at this time, as the rabble alſo were uncommonly tumultuous. The Duke of Orleans was ſtrongly ſuſpected of being the author of theſe exceſſes of the rabble, and the mutinous diſpoſition of the National Guards. He was not more odious to the Court than to M. La Fayette, and would have been arreſted, had it not been judged imprudent to

venture on ſo deciſive a meaſure in the preſent circumſtances. Another plan leſs likely to create popular commotion, but which it was thought would have all the good effect of arreſting him, was adopted.

M. La Fayette waited on the Duke of Orleans, and abruptly informed him, that "it afforded matter of ſurpriſe that he had not gone to England, as he had ſome time before told the King was his intention; that the public tranquillity did not admit his remaining longer in France; that a paſſport was prepared for him; and that the pretext for his journey might, if he pleaſed, be a private commiſſion from his Majeſty." Although the Duke ſeemed to have dropped all thoughts of this expedition, yet on this hint from M. La Fayette he immediately agreed to ſet out. There was probably ſomething very powerful in M. La Fayette's *manner*, which convinced the Duke ſo ſuddenly of the expediency of this journey; for in the

expreſſions he uſed there appears nothing very perſuaſive.

When M. de Montmorin announced to the National Aſſembly, that the King had given to the Duke of Orleans a commiſſion to go to England, and that he only waited for a paſſport from the Aſſembly, it occaſioned much ſurpriſe. Mirabeau ſpoke of it as a new ſpecies of *lettre de cachet* rather than a commiſſion, and hinted at the imperious conduct of La Fayette, and the ſubmiſſion of the Duke, in terms which did no honour to the latter. The Aſſembly ſeem not to have been deceived by the pretext aſſigned by the Miniſter; yet the paſſport was granted, and the Duke departed.

The National Aſſembly were received by the inhabitants of Paris with demonſtrations of joy. On the day of their firſt ſitting, they were waited on by M. Bailly the Mayor and M. La Fayette, at the head of a deputation from the Municipality, with the congra-

congratulations of the capital; in return for which theſe two gentlemen were honoured by a vote of thanks from the Aſſembly for the ſervices they had rendered the country.

Such ſymptoms of harmony and good humour were not of long continuance. The predictions of thoſe members who had always foreſeen the worſt effects from their deliberating in the midſt of an unreſtrained multitude ſoon began to be verified. There was a certain degree of real ſcarcity of proviſions; but this was ſuppoſed to be augmented by artificial means, for the moſt wicked purpoſes. It was rumoured at one time, that there was a ſcheme for ſtarving the people—an accuſation abſurd, it is true, but peculiarly calculated to inflame the rage of a multitude already ſuffering under the ſenſation of hunger, and to whom a full meal was at all times precarious.

It was ſpread abroad alſo, that there was a plot to poiſon them with unwholeſome pro-

viſions; in proof of which incredible aſſertion, ſome men brought a number of ſacks of flour which they declared to be ſpoiled, and emptied them into the Seine as near as poſſible to the windows of the Tuileries. This was done with a view of inſinuating to the multitude that the Court was connected with the conſpiracy.

Every degree of wickedneſs was to be expected from men who could invent ſuch a ſpecies of calumny, and every degree of abſurdity from thoſe who were weak enough to believe it. At this time the Duke of Orleans was in England; and thoſe who had excited the populace to go to Verſailles for the purpoſe of obliging the Royal Family and the National Aſſembly to come to Paris, had obtained their end. It does not appear that the leaders of any political faction could have any intereſt in ſpreading theſe ſtories, or creating the diſorders which immediately followed; which ſeem

to

to have entirely proceeded from the abſurd prejudices of the vulgar, and the inactivity, or rather the inability, of law. Had the Duke of Orleans been at Paris, however, it would probably have been ſaid that he was the author of them, with a view to have the whole family maſſacred.

It will not ſeem ſurpriſing, that in ſuch times individuals often pointed out the objects of their own private hatred and revenge as the enemies of the public, thereby to expoſe them to the fury of the rabble; an affecting inſtance of which occurred in the caſe of a baker. A woman, inſtigated by perſonal malice, accuſed this man of being a monopoliſt, and prompted the mob to break into his houſe and ſearch for bread. A few loaves were found, which were deſigned for his own family, and a greater number of little rolls beſpoke by ſome members of the National Aſſembly, near which his bakehouſe was. This appeared to the

rabble a full proof of the woman's accuſation. He was dragged before the Committee ſitting at the Hotel de Ville; who were ſoon convinced of his innocence, from the anſwer he made to his accuſers, and from the excellent character given of him by thoſe of his neighbours who followed him to the Committee; but, fearing to declare their real ſentiments, they deputed three of their own members to inform the multitude, that the baker was to be carried before the Chatelet, to be tried according to law. So far from being ſatisfied with this, the rabble ſeized thoſe Deputies, and threatened to hang them inſtead of the baker, if he was not immediately delivered up to them. The Committee, as a laſt means of ſaving the baker, propoſed to interrogate the witneſſes immediately, in the great hall, and in the hearing of the populace; but when the unhappy man was conducting to the hall, he was torn from the Guards, murdered in the

ſquare of the Greve, and his head fixed on a pike was met by his young wife, three months gone with child, as ſhe ruſhed through the crowd to lend her feeble aid to her huſband.

A murder attended with ſo many aggravating circumſtances, perpetrated in the preſence of ſome of their own members, and almoſt at their own door, convinced the majority of the Aſſembly that their perſonal ſafety was intereſted in checking the exceſſes to which the Pariſian populace were ſo prone, and for which the Aſſembly had hitherto ſhewn ſo much indulgence. The maſſacre of the King's Guards, and breaking into the Queen's apartment with the intention of ſerving her in the ſame manner, might, *for reaſons of State*, be overlooked; but to murder a baker, and the very baker who furniſhed them with rolls, they ſeem to have thought a more ſerious affair, and to merit greater attention.

It was therefore propoſed, that "the Magiſtrates ſhould be authoriſed, on the appearance of a riot, to call the aſſiſtance of the military, and proclaim martial law; after which that a red flag ſhould be diſplayed from the Town-houſe, as a ſignal that all aſſemblies of the populace, armed and unarmed, ſhould be conſidered as criminal; and, in caſe they refuſed to diſperſe on being ordered by the Magiſtrate, that it ſhould be declared to be his duty to order them to be fired upon; and that thoſe who eſcaped ſhould be afterwards liable to legal proſecution."

There were members of the Aſſembly who thought ſuch a decree by much too ſevere. Roberſpierre in particular is ſaid to have laid the foundation ſtone of his towering popularity on this occaſion. He declared that "he ſaw many dangers which menaced liberty in the paſſing of this decree, which might be ſo eaſily turned againſt the

the moſt active patriots, and which evidently tended to raiſe the hopes of ariſtocrates, and to damp that glow of freedom which it was neceſſary to cheriſh in the breaſts of the people. The diſpoſition of the Pariſians was in general excellent;" he confeſſed that "he had a cordial affection for them, and could not ſee them threatened with any danger without ſhuddering. The good people of Paris," he ſaid, (and what he ſaid quickly flew from the galleries all over the town) "were very ſeldom in the wrong, always meant well, and could not be juſtly puniſhed for the errors they might fall into, or the miſtakes they might commit, when they were pinched with hunger. How venial were their errors when compared with the guilt of thoſe who obſtructed proviſions, and created an artificial famine! He expatiated on the wiſdom of lenient meaſures towards the people, and of the dreadful conſequences that might follow from

employ-

employing a military force, by which many innocent and well-meaning people might be deſtroyed. He extolled as the firſt of virtues compaſſion to the poor and the worthy: for Roberſpierre always uſed thoſe two words, as well as their oppoſites, the rich and the worthleſs, as ſynonymous. He expreſſed a horror againſt bloodſhed worthy of a Bramin; and drew ſuch an affecting picture of the ſlaughter of men, women, and children, by a fire from the ſoldiers, as brought tears from the eyes of ſome perſons in the gallery; while others affecting ſeverer virtues and more profound political ſagacity, ſhook their heads, and declared "that, although Roberſpierre might be a well-meaning patriot, he was by much too tender-hearted for a ſtateſman."

Roberſpierre's eloquence, however, encouraged ſome of the diſtricts to proteſt againſt the martial law, but did not prevent its being decreed in the Aſſembly, approved

of

of by the Municipality, and ſupported by the National Guards; which produced the happy effect of eſtabliſhing order and quiet for ſome time.

The actual murderer of the baker was tried and executed, with another fellow who had attempted to excite the people to inſurrection. The King and Queen teſtified their ſympathy with the affliction of the baker's widow, in a conſolatory meſſage delivered to her by the Duke de Liancourt with a preſent of ſix thouſand livres.

The new decree having produced an interval of order and tranquillity, the National Aſſembly applied itſelf with indefatigable diligence to public buſineſs. The political exiſtence of the Nobleſſe and Clergy was extinguiſhed by a laconic decree, expreſſing that *there was no longer any diſtinction of orders in France.*

The election of the Deputies to the National Aſſembly was regulated according to

a plan

a plan propoſed by the Abbé Sieyes. In the firſt inſtance there was to be an election of Deputies in what were called the Primary Aſſemblies; and, by a ſecond election, thoſe Deputies were to chooſe the members who were to repreſent the People in the National Aſſembly. A very ſlender qualification with reſpect to property entitled a man to vote in the firſt inſtance; and very little more ſufficed to give him a right to vote in the ſecond.

The ancient diviſion of the kingdom into provinces, all of which had their own particular parliaments and juriſdiction, and were all ſubdivided into governments, dioceſes, and bailiwicks, according to the military, eccleſiaſtical, and judicial orders, was entirely aboliſhed. Thoſe diviſions and ſubdiviſions, with the particular privileges that had been annexed to ſome of them, had produced many prejudices, animoſities, and jealouſies, and were thought inconſiſtent with

with that equal and harmonious government which was intended to be formed in France. All privileges of every kind having been aboliſhed, it was thought prudent to efface every trace of their having ever exiſted. According to the new plan, France was divided into eighty-three portions called Departments. The whole number of Deputies to the National Aſſembly was to be ſeven hundred and forty-five. To have decreed that the number of Deputies ſhould depend on the extent of territory in each department would have been abſurd; becauſe a department may be as extenſive as another, and have fewer inhabitants. To have made the number depend ſolely on the population would have rendered the government entirely democratic. And to have regulated the number of Deputies that each department ſhould have the privilege of chooſing, by the quantity of money raiſed by taxation, would have been opening a

door to the ariſtocracy of mere riches, more ſordid and odious than that of birth or title. Inſtead of founding on any one of thoſe principles, it was thought that the deficiences in one would be compenſated by the merit of the others, and that the reſult of combining the three would be the moſt perfect mode of election for a Legiſlative Aſſembly, in the ſame manner as the judicious mixture of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy, in the Britiſh Conſtitution, is thought to exhibit the moſt perfect model of a free, mild, and happy government.

The extent, population, and contribution of the department were to be attended to, therefore, in determining the number of Repreſentatives each was to ſend to the National Aſſembly. As the extent of all the eighty-three departments was nearly equal, each was appointed to ſend three Deputies, on that principle, the department of Paris being excepted; which, on account of its

extent

extent being ſo much ſmaller than any of the others, was allowed to ſend only one. So that two hundred and forty-ſeven were elected on the principle of extent of territory, two hundred and forty-nine on that of population, and the ſame number on that of contribution; amounting in all to the number decreed, namely ſeven hundred and forty-five: but the number of Deputies ſent from each department in virtue of its population and contribution, was proportionate to the number of the inhabitants and to the taxes they paid. Had all the departments been equal as to thoſe two articles, each would have ſent nine Deputies, except that of Paris, which for the reaſon mentioned above would have ſent ſeven only: but as there were great inequalities in thoſe two articles, the number of Deputies ſent from the different departments was alſo unequal—ſome ſending only five, particularly the departments des Hautes-Alpes, de la Lo-

zere, and des Pyrenées-Orientales; others only ſix; ſome ſeven; and ſo on every number to fifteen, the number ſent by the department de Rhone-et-Loire and de la Seine-Inférieure; none of the reſt ſending ſo many, except the department of Paris, which, notwithſtanding the deduction of two made from it on account of its ſmall extent, ſent on the whole twenty-four members, becauſe of its vaſt population and contribution.

It was decreed that this Aſſembly ſhould ſubſiſt two years; and a new one was to be always formed in the ſame manner at the end of the ſame period. In this plan, one of the wiſeſt articles perhaps is that which excludes the Primary Aſſemblies from the right of directly chooſing the Repreſentatives of the Nation, and confines their privilege to that of naming the Electors of the Repreſentatives; for although the lower claſſes in ſociety are not ſuppoſed to be adequate judges

of

of the qualities requiſite for a member of the National Aſſembly, or to have opportunities of being acquainted with thoſe who poſſeſs them, yet they are fully competent to know what men in their own diſtricts are reputed men of integrity and good ſenſe, and will of courſe be inclined to chooſe thoſe as the propereſt for electing the National Repreſentatives.

In the opinion of many, the French would have done well to have fixed on the Britiſh Conſtitution as the entire model of theirs. In the opinion of ſome, the Britiſh nation would do well to reform their repreſentation in the Houſe of Commons according to the French ſyſtem of election. Thoſe who are of the firſt opinion quote the happy and proſperous ſtate of Great Britain: thoſe who are of the ſecond do not mention the preſent ſtate of France as a corroboration of theirs.

Previous to the ſeceſſion of M. Lally-

Tolendal and M. Mounier, there was ſome diſpoſition in the Aſſembly to have modelled the French Conſtitution as nearly according to the Britiſh as poſſible. Perhaps pride or prejudice may have had ſome weight in preventing this idea from being adopted: if ſo, it is to be regretted. But that national pride, or ſomething of a prejudice in favour of their own opinions, ſhould have influenced the minds of Frenchmen, ought not greatly to ſurpriſe thoſe worthy Engliſhmen, who are perſuaded not only that their own form of government is the happieſt effort of human genius, but alſo that it would, without the leaſt variation, ſuit the inhabitants of every nation on earth, however different from themſelves in manners, ſituation, and character.

That Great Britain has increaſed in power in a greater proportion than any other nation in Europe ſince the Revolution 1688; that its inhabitants have acquired

more wealth; that this wealth is more equally diffuſed, and that their perſons and property are better protected and ſecured than thoſe of the inhabitants of any other country, is known to all the world; that all thoſe advantages were derived from that bleſſed portion of liberty which belongs to the Britiſh Conſtitution, and of which moſt other governments are devoid, has long been the opinion of many enlightened men in France, which they have been at great pains to render manifeſt, and to circulate among their countrymen. That exhilarating ſpirit of activity, enterpriſe, and ardour, which a love of freedom conveys to the heart of man, was felt by the whole French nation at the time of calling the States-General; but many of thoſe elected as legiſlators, thinking they never could have too much of it, raſhly intermingled ſuch a quantity into their Conſtitution, that, inſtead of an invigorating cordial, it had

the moſt fiery, intoxicating, and deſtructive effects.

This obſervation, however, is not ſo applicable to the firſt Conſtituent Aſſembly as to the Aſſemblies which ſucceeded. In the firſt there were undoubtedly a greater number of men of diſtinguiſhed talents and eminence, in every ſenſe of the word, than in any of the others; and although on ſome occaſions, from a dread of the agents of deſpotiſm and a ſuſpicion of the Court, they behaved with harſhneſs to the King, yet it ſeems evident that the views and wiſhes of the majority were to give an equitable government to their country, by which both the Prince and People would have been gainers. That they were friends to monarchy, as well as to freedom, they gave the ſtrongeſt proof, in re-inſtating the King and preſenting him with the Conſtitution after his flight to Varennes, notwithſtanding the cry which was raiſed for the *Dechéance*,

and

and the attempts made by the republican party for overſetting the monarchy and eſtabliſhing a republic at that time. But the ſecond, or, as it is called, the Legiſlative Aſſembly acted in a very different manner from their predeceſſors. Although one of the greateſt errors in the form of election of the Deputies was, that the qualification of the Electors in point of property was too ſmall, which rendered the elections tumultuous, and accompanied with more of a republican ſpirit than, in the opinion of ſome, is conſiſtent with a monarchical form of government however limited; yet the Legiſlative Aſſembly could not truſt that form of election, becauſe they feared it was not ſufficiently republican; and therefore, after the 10th of Auguſt 1792, they decreed that in the election of members for the Convention it ſhould be departed from, and that, inſtead of the ſmall ſhare of property formerly requiſite to entitle any man to vote, all that

ſhould be neceſſary was a year's reſidence in the department, and that he ſhould be of the age at which the law preſumes a capability of exerciſing perſonal rights: the conſequence of which, and of other manœuvres that took place during the general election, was, that the moſt zealous republicans that were to be found in France were choſen members of the Convention, and monarchy was aboliſhed *par acclamation* as ſoon as it met.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XVIII.

Decree reſpecting Bankrupts—Opinion of Mirabeau on that Subject—of the Duke of Rochefoucault—Abolition of Monaſteries—for appropriating the Church Lands—Abolition of Titles—Reflections on that Subject, and on Armorial Bearings—Reſpect derived from Antiquity of Family—The Effect which the Creation of Peers has on it.

NOTHING can give a higher idea of the aſſiduity with which the National Aſſembly applied to the buſineſs of the State, than the regulations they made within a very few months after the King's arrival in the capital. They aboliſhed *lettres de cachet*; ſuppreſſed the tax upon ſalt, ſo oppreſſive to the poor; alſo that on tobacco,

not equally ſo, but ſtill very grievous, ſince habit has rendered the uſe of that plant almoſt a neceſſary of life. Many other burdenſome and impolitic taxes and impoſitions were either entirely ſuppreſſed, or regulated in a manner to render them leſs heavy on the lower orders in particular. A decree was paſſed, that all perſons, whether profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion or not, might be appointed to any office or employment; and the principle which attached infamy to the deſcendents of thoſe who were executed for crimes was aboliſhed.

Several new regulations reſpecting the fleet and army were made; and as it was thought of the greateſt importance that the latter ſhould be kept in good humour, their pay was conſiderably augmented. The abolition of all the privileges, ſeparate laws, and particular rights, which had

had been long enjoyed by certain provinces, to the injury of the reſt of the kingdom, was univerſally approved of by the impartial.

In the republic of Geneva, bankrupts are excluded from the Public Council, the Magiſtracy, or any office in the State: the children of bankrupts are by law ſubjected to the ſame penalty till ſuch time as they pay their proportion of their father's debts. Monteſquieu mentions this law in high terms of praiſe. Many who may have the ſame good opinion of this law that Monteſquieu had, will ſtill be ſurpriſed that *Mirabeau* ſhould have recommended it. "In the preſent ſituation of France," ſaid he, "des loix pareilles ſont non ſeulement utiles mais indiſpenſables. Vainement, Meſſieurs, vous avez aboli les privilèges et les ordres, ſi vous laiſſez ſubſiſter cette prérogative de fait qui diſpenſe l'homme d'un cer-

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tain rang de payer ſes dettes ou celles de ſon père ; qui fait languir la commerce, et qui trop ſouvent dévoue l'induſtrie laborieuſe de l'artiſan et du boutiquier, à ſoutenir le luxe effréné, de ce que nous appellons ſi improprement *l'homme comme il faut.*

" Laiſſons à cette nation voiſine, dont la Conſtitution nous offre tant de vues ſages, dont nous craignons de profiter, cette loi injuſte, reſte honteux de la feodalité, qui met à l'abri de toutes pourſuites pour dettes le citoyen que la Nation appelle à la repréſenter dans ſon Parlement. Profitons de l'exemple des Anglois ; mais ſachons éviter leurs erreurs ; et, au lieu de recompenſer le déſordre dans la conduite, éloignons de toute place dans les Aſſemblées, tant Nationales que Provinciales et Municipales, le citoyen qui, par une mauvaiſe adminiſtration de ſes propres affaires, ſe montrera

peu

peu capable de bien gérer celles du public *."

The reader will be the leſs ſurpriſed at

* Such laws are not only uſeful, but indiſpenſably neceſſary. In vain have you decreed the abolition of privileges and diſtinctions, if men in any ſituation are ſtill to be tolerated in refuſing to pay their own debts or thoſe of their father. This is hurtful to commerce, and too often obliges the laborious induſtry of the tradeſman and ſhop-keeper to ſupport the unbounded luxury of thoſe improperly called good company.

Let us leave that neighbouring nation, whoſe Conſtitution preſents us with ſo many wiſe regulations, which we are afraid to adopt, in poſſeſſion of this unjuſt law, a remnant of feudal injuſtice, which protects the perſons of Members of Parliament from arreſt on account of debt. We may in many things profit by the example of the Engliſh; but let us avoid their errors; and, inſtead of rewarding extravagant and diſſolute conduct, let us exclude from the National and Provincial Aſſemblies and the Magiſtracy, every man who, by the miſmanagement of his own private concerns, ſhews that he is incapable of conducting prudently the buſineſs of the public.

Mirabeau's

Mirabeau's declamation againſt bankrupts, after peruſing Roberſpierre's againſt bloodſhed; but the National Aſſembly muſt have heard Mirabeau with more ſurpriſe than Roberſpierre; becauſe none of them at that time were acquainted with the vindictive and cruel diſpoſition of the latter, but they all knew that the former was a bankrupt.

His propoſal, however, that the Aſſembly ſhould adopt the law of Geneva, was received with applauſe; in the midſt of which, the Duke de la Rochefoucault roſe to oppoſe that part of the law which regarded the children of bankrupts.

He delivered his opinion in terms worthy of the moderation, good ſenſe, and generoſity, which belonged to his character. "J'ai vu moi-meme," ſaid he, "les heureux effets qu'elle a produits à Genève; mais cependant elle me paroît contenir une diſpoſition

trop rigoureuſe à l'égard des enfans des pères banque-routiers. Sans doute c'eſt un beau ſentiment de la part d'un fils d'acquitter les dettes de ſon père; mais il faut laiſſer à la vertu à conſeiller ce qui eſt honnête; les loix doivent ſe borner à preſcrire ce qui eſt juſte. Les fautes ſont perſonnelles; l'homme coupable ou imprudent eſt puni; mais il ne faut pas étendre la punition ſur les enfans déjà trop malhereux des torts de leur père*."

The day following the debate on this

* I have myſelf ſeen its happy effects at Geneva; yet it ſeems to me to ſhew too harſh a diſpoſition towards the children of bankrupts. It aſſuredly is a moſt laudable reſolution in a ſon to pay the debts of his father; but we muſt leave it to virtue to prompt that which is generous; the law ought to ordain only what is juſt. Faults are perſonal: let the man who is imprudent or culpable be puniſhed; but we ought not to extend the puniſhment to his children, who have already ſuffered by the ill-conduct of their father.

ſubject was renewed. M. de la Rochefoucault's opinion was ſupported by the eloquence of M. Barnave. M. Mirabeau was abſent. He entered the hall of the Aſſembly as the Duke's amendment was about to paſs; which as ſoon as Mirabeau underſtood, he aſcended the tribune. The Aſſembly, under the impreſſion of the arguments for the amendment, were averſe from hearing him. With much difficulty he obtained leave to ſpeak, which he did ſo ſucceſsfully, that the decree paſſed to the following effect:

"No bankrupt or inſolvent debtor can remain or become a member of any Municipal Council or Committee, nor of the Provincial or National Aſſemblies, nor exerciſe any public office whatever.

"The excluſion is to take place againſt the children or others who poſſeſs the goods of the bankrupt, by whatſoever title they may

ſo

ſo do, except the children of the bankrupt who have received their portion before the bankruptcy took place."

This is a very ſtriking proof of the vaſt influence that Mirabeau had in the Aſſembly.

Propoſals for the reduction of taxes were eaſily made; and thoſe who made them were certain of acquiring popularity: but where to find funds to ſupply the place of the taxes reduced, to pay the intereſt of the public debt, and anſwer the other exigencies of the State, was a matter of more difficulty.

A meaſure adequate to all this, however, had been long in contemplation among thoſe who are not ſcrupulous with regard to the means by which they are to attain their object. This was no other than ſeizing on the whole Church lands, and appropriating them to the exigencies of the State. An alarm had been given that this was in meditation, by a decree already paſſed, which,

which, however, was by no means equally unreaſonable or unjuſt, namely, that for the abolition of monaſteries.

It requires no wonderful talents for finance in any aſſembly of men to pay the public debts of the moſt involved nation in Europe, provided they are allowed to ſeize the fortunes of any number of the inhabitants for that purpoſe. Such a meaſure muſt reduce theſe devoted men to beggary, no doubt; but then the national debt will be extinguiſhed, the taxes mightily diminiſhed, and the remaining proprietors, with the whole body of the poor, will be in a more comfortable condition than ever.

The expedient of ſeizing the whole landed eſtates of the Clergy ſeems preciſely of this nature: and, after ſuch a violent inſtance of rapine is ſanctioned by law, no robbery can be puniſhed in France with any regard to juſtice or to their favourite maxim of equality.

On

On preſſing exigencies, when the general welfare or ſafety of a nation is at ſtake, unqueſtionably extraordinary meaſures muſt be taken; and, among others, it may be neceſſary that great pecuniary levies ſhould be made: but, according to every idea of juſtice, this ſhould be done by fair and equal contributions from the whole inhabitants, according to the beſt eſtimate that can be thought of reſpecting the wealth of each. To ſingle out any one claſs, like a deer of the foreſt, who is immediately abandoned by all his ſelfiſh and cowardly companions, is the height of injuſtice; and all the arguments urged in the Aſſembly in favour of the meaſure are the ſophiſms of men endeavouring to palliate the enormity of a deed, which, for ſelfiſh conſiderations, they were pre-determined to perpetrate.

It may be ſaid, that, the opinion of the

French nation at large on the ſubject of religion having changed, it would be abſurd to preſerve, at a vaſt expence, an eſtabliſhment which is now thought in a great meaſure uſeleſs. But let it be remembered, that thoſe who choſe the Church for their profeſſion, as in all other profeſſions, were educated in the conviction that the national eſtabliſhment reſpecting the Church was to be continued; and, till it is declared otherwiſe, they have the national faith for their ſecurity. It has been juſtly remarked, that to ſtrip a clergyman of his benefice on the pretext that it belonged to the Nation and that the Nation had need of the revenue, is as unjuſt as it would be to refuſe to pay a prize in the State Lottery, becauſe it belonged to the Nation, and becauſe the Nation had need of the money.

If all the inhabitants of France, therefore, had

had become deiſts in one day, ſtill they would have been bound in equity to maintain all the Clergy in the full poſſeſſion of their benefices during their lives, and alſo to have given an indemnity to every ſtudent or expectant, for the time and application he had beſtowed to qualify himſelf for a profeſſion thought of the firſt importance, although by an unexpected alteration of opinion in his countrymen it was now thought uſeleſs.

The Biſhop of Autun and others, who were in poſſeſſion of high eccleſiaſtical appointments and had the higheſt in expectation, ſupported the meaſure of appropriating the Church lands to the exigencies of the State. Views of intereſt or ambition have ſometimes been the ſecret motives for actions apparently contrary to both; but admitting this conduct to have proceeded from the pureſt patriotiſm, ſtill thoſe gentle-

men had a right to beſtow only what they themſelves poſſeſſed. There is neither patriotiſm nor generoſity in *compelling* others to give what you are *willing* to yield up yourſelf. The landed eſtates of the Church thus ſequeſtered for the payment of the national debt, the Clergy had nothing left but a precarious promiſe for the ſcanty penſions which were aſſigned to them.

On the whole, it muſt be acknowledged, that the vaſt fabric of wealth and power which in the courſe of ages had been raiſed by the Gallican church was overthrown by a pretended ſpirit of philoſophy, in a manner as contrary to reaſon and equity as the ſuperſtition on which it was founded, or the avarice and ambition by which it was at firſt reared.

After this ſeverity towards ſo powerful a body as the Clergy, thoſe who practiſed the profeſſion

profeſſion of the law had no great reaſon to expect that much lenity would be ſhewn to them. By one decree all the Parliaments of the kingdom were ſuſpended from their functions; and, two days after, all titles of nobility and all diſtinction of orders were by another decree entirely aboliſhed. This blow, which ſhook the whole Nobleſſe of France from the ſtilts that had made them ſeem taller than their fellow citizens, and diſcovered that many were beneath the common ſtandard, and ſome mere dwarfs, ſtruck a general panic through the whole ariſtocracy of Europe, and created a band of as inveterate enemies to the Revolution in every kingdom in Chriſtendom as exiſted in France itſelf. But with whatever ſenſibility this blow was felt by thoſe on whom it fell, it was treated as trifling and unſubſtantial by that part of the National Aſſembly who were out of its reach; many of whom affected a philoſophical contempt for all ſuch

gewgaws as titles and ribbons, and never mentioned them without ſcorn and indignation. It is entertaining to obſerve philoſophers, who cannot ſee a ribbon acroſs a man's ſhoulders, nor hear a title pronounced, without falling into a paſſion, endeavour to ridicule the weakneſs of thoſe who grieve at being deprived of them: for if it is weak to lament the loſs of what they called gewgaws, it ſeems fully as weak not to be able to bear that they ſhould be in the poſſeſſion of others. Conſidering how univerſal the *affectation* of this contempt is, it ſeems ſurpriſing that the *reality* is ſo very rare. Like the fox in the fable contemplating the grapes, mankind in general ſpeak with diſdain of titles and ribbons when they are at ſuch a diſtance as precludes the hope of attaining them; but ſnatch at them with eagerneſs as ſoon as they are brought within their reach.

With the diſtinction of orders and titles,

armorial

armorial bearings and liveries were decreed to be abolished.

The affair of armorial bearings and liveries is managed better in Great Britain, where every tradesman is allowed to load his footmen with as rich liveries as the vanity of the master exacts, and his purse can afford; and where for a moderate sum he may have what arms he pleases. Accordingly it is impossible to pass through the city of London without seeing on the carriages of grocers, brewers, bricklayers, contractors, and cheese-mongers, as many helmets, shields, and spears, as were in Godfrey's army at the siege of Jerusalem. There are indeed some mortified relicts and descendants of Nobility who lament, as a grievous abuse, that the carriages which drag the awkward offspring and bloated garbage of the city to a ball or feast at the Mansion-house should be permitted to be as richly

blazoned, as much admired by the ignorant, as thoſe which convey the moſt ancient, and of courſe the pureſt, blood of the realm to St. James's. This no doubt is afflicting to the pride of a few honourable perſons, both male and female, whoſe feelings may be the ſame, although their ſexes are different; but, on the other hand, it ought be conſidered, that all kind of encouragement ſhould be given to trade in this commercial nation, and that the affliction above mentioned is in ſome degree compenſated by the innocent pleaſure which a flaming coat of arms affords to the wives and daughters of many reſpectable citizens, and to thoſe reſpectable citizens themſelves, who are more at a loſs how to enjoy their fortune than they were how to acquire it. For it is well known, that riches and enjoyment are not always coupled together: if they were, the Royal Exchange

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of London would, at a certain hour every day, comprehend more happineſs than the moſt extenſive and beſt cultivated provinces in the world; which, from the many anxious and many vacant countenances to be ſeen there, we are apt to believe is not the caſe. Indeed there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that this very valuable art of enjoying riches was ſomewhat of a rarity even in the Auguſtan age, ſince Horace compliments his accompliſhed friend Albius Tibullus for poſſeſſing it:

Di tibi divitias dederant, *artemque fruendi.*

To allow a free participation of the enjoyments which heraldry affords to every Britiſh ſubject at a reaſonable price, ſeems equitable: that it does afford pleaſure to ſome, even after their age, conſcience, and conſtitution have interdicted them from other pleaſures, abundance of examples might be given. It may perhaps be thought excuſ-

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able to quote one on account of its ſingularity.

After having made a conſiderable fortune by the exerciſe of his profeſſion in the capital, a certain taylor retired to the province in which he had been born, on purpoſe, as he himſelf declared, to enjoy *otium cum dignitate*; for this taylor had been ſeveral years at a grammar ſchool, and ſtill remembered ſome ſentences of Latin.

The coach in which he and his family arrived at the place of his reſidence in the country ſtood much in need of being new-painted. His wife had given orders for this before they left London; but as he knew it would ſuffer by the journey, he begged that the painting might be poſtponed until the end of it: to which ſhe at laſt conſented, on his promiſing that inſtead of the cypher a coat of arms ſhould be the coach's ornament in future. He choſe for a creſt a large pair of ſciſſars expanded: gratitude,

he ſaid, dictated this; becauſe they were the chief inſtrument of his fortune. For his motto he choſe the words *Vincere aut mori.* On being told that theſe words might be thought more ſuitable to a ſoldier than to a man of his profeſſion; he ſaid that he belonged to a military family; for his father had been hautboy to a regiment, and that he himſelf, in his youth, had felt ſome inclination for being a ſoldier, which he was prevented from indulging by the unexpected breaking out of a war; nothing could be more ſuitable therefore than the motto he had choſen: and he gave orders to the painter accordingly. But when his wife underſtood what had been decided, ſhe declared that a mere creſt and motto was little better than a cypher, and would look ſcandalouſly naked, which was what ſhe could not bear. The huſband conſulted the curate reſpecting ſome additional device

or

or ornament to cover the nakedneſs, and remove the objection made by his wife.

The curate, who was ſomewhat of a wag, obſerved that although ſciſſars were made of cold iron as well as ſwords, yet ſome people might think that there was not a ſufficient correſpondence between the creſt and the motto: it would therefore be of importance to contrive ſuch ornaments as would link them a little better together. The taylor acknowledged the juſtneſs of this obſervation, but added, that he knew of none that would have that effect.

If you could aſſume ſupporters, ſaid the curate, it might perhaps be eaſier done. I have no particular objection to ſupporters, rejoined the taylor, and I am ſure they would delight my wife. Would you chooſe men or beaſts? ſaid the curate. I think one of each would be beſt, anſwered the taylor: pray what beaſt would you adviſe me to?

to? A lion by all means, ſaid the curate; becauſe, being the moſt powerful beaſt of the foreſt, he ſuits with *vincere* in your motto. That he does to a hair! exclaimed the taylor; but, added he after muſing for ſome time, I cannot conceive what kind of man will ſuit with *mori*. A dead man to be ſure, ſaid the curate. On my conſcience that is true! cried the taylor; and it is ſo obvious that I wonder I did not hit on it myſelf. The arms were ordered directly—a pair of ſciſſars expanded, with a lion and a dead man ſupporting them. The taylor's wife was delighted, as he had foretold; and great was the importance which ſwelled his own heart when he remarked the admiration with which the villagers contemplated the emblematic painting on his coach, or when the import of the motto was explained to the gazing circle by the ſchoolmaſter or ſome other of equal learning.

Why that diſdainful ſmile at the vanity

of this poor taylor? The ſtory is told of yourſelf under another name. Let ſome, who ridicule his motto and lion, recollect, how little their own vain pretenſions, low purſuits, debaſing habits, and the whole deſpicable tenor of their lives, accord with the emblems or mottos of their coats of arms. Let them remember, that, if truth and propriety were always obſerved in thoſe articles, inſtead of lions, eagles, and other noble animals, many of them would have aſſes, hogs, peacocks, or dunghill cocks, for their ſupporters: and let them alſo remember, that the reſpect which is ſtill paid to ſome of them proceeds entirely from a regard to the memory of men that are dead.

It may be ſaid that this alſo is abſurd, that every degree of eſteem or diſlike ſhould depend on perſonal qualities; that the ſon of Shakeſpeare might have been a fool, the ſon of Hampden a ſlave, and that a whole line of heroic anceſtry are no ſecurity againſt

the

the deſcendent's being a coward; and, *vice verſa*, that the ſon of a fool might be a firſt-rate genius; the ſon of a ſlaviſh-ſpirited father might be an intrepid aſſerter of liberty; and the deſcendant of a race of cowards might be a hero. This ſentiment, therefore, which transfers any portion of the reſpect or diſgrace due to the character of the father to the ſon is unreaſonable. It certainly is ſo; but in this particular the prejudice is more powerful than our reaſon. It is not ſo ſtrong indeed in England as in Germany with their ſixteen quarters, or as it was in France, where a man of worth and character was conſidered as diſgraced, if his father or brother was executed on a ſcaffold; but ſtill its influence is apparent. We ſee men every day, who live reſpected in ſociety on that fund of eſteem which was accumulated by their forefathers, although they themſelves have not added one particle to it during the whole courſe of their lives; and,

what

what muſt afford a candid mind more uneaſineſs, we likewiſe ſee individuals of much perſonal worth in ſome degree neglected and avoided on account of the infamous character of their parents. This prejudice unqueſtionably is to be ſurmounted in this country; but it requires time and continued efforts; for although every body admits that eſteem and regard ought to depend entirely on perſonal qualities, yet even in this philoſophical iſland every body may obſerve that they do not entirely, but are in ſome meaſure influenced by other circumſtances. The greateſt philoſopher in the iſland feels elated when mention is made of the honourable conduct of his father, and will ſhrink with confuſion at the moſt remote hint of his infamy. This feeling pervades mankind, the wiſe as well as the fooliſh, and continues until death. Even the condemned houſebreaker and thief at the place of execution ſhews ſolicitude for the reputation of thoſe from whom he

is deſcended, and declares with his laſt breath, that he was born of poor but *honeſt* parents. However contrary this feeling may be to philoſophy, it ſeems friendly to virtue: but there are other prejudices reſpecting birth, of which the ſame cannot be ſaid, and ſome which are exceptions to that juſt mentioned; for, if a ſuppoſed progenitor is of very high rank, it removes in a great meaſure the ſhame which the ſon would otherwiſe feel at the recollection of the weakneſs or even wickedneſs of his character: for people are vain of being ſprung from Kings and Princes, even although of the two perſons from whom they originally derive that diſtinction, all the world knows that the one was a knave and the other a w——. And people like to be of an old family rather than of a new, though no one perſon of the whole line has been diſtinguiſhed for any praiſe-worthy quality. The known antiquity of a family alone, inde-

pendent of other circumſtances, gives it ſome degree of reſpectability. This no doubt is greatly increaſed by its producing perſons of eminent talents or virtues; but even when no examples of that kind can be quoted in a family, that a certain degree of reſpect is due to its antiquity, ſeems agreeable to the general feelings and ſentiments of ſociety in Europe: and the degree of reſpect due to every gentleman's family in Great Britain and Ireland would be arranged and aſcertained by the prevailing opinion of the country, founded on its antiquity and on the merit and brilliancy of the characters it had produced, were all theſe conſiderations left to their own natural operation. But this is in ſome meaſure diſturbed by the unlimited power of the Crown to create Peers, which ſometimes has been exerted where the public opinion would not have directed it. The patriotiſm of Hampden, the heroic charac-

ter of Montroſe, the victories of Marlborough, and the brilliant adminiſtration of Chatham, would have thrown a vaſt ſhare of luſtre on their deſcendents, although no Peerage had ever exiſted. But when a man of no merit, or perhaps of demerit, is by the ill-judged favour of the Prince created a Peer, and raiſed to the higheſt rank of the Peerage, inſtances of which are to be met with in the Britiſh hiſtory; then his family takes the precedence, and becomes more honourable, in one ſenſe of the word, than thoſe of all the Peers of the realm beneath the rank of Duke. Or if an enterprizing footman in any of the moſt ancient and honourable families of the three kingdoms ſhould afterwards, abroad or at home, by means not very honourable, acquire an immenſe fortune, with the command of boroughs, and be created a Peer; his family inſtantly becomes more honourable than that of his maſter.

The unlimited prerogative of creating Peers may be attended with advantages which greatly overbalance the circumſtances here enumerated, and may on the whole be a very wiſe inſtitution; but, without preſuming to give any opinion on that point, it ſeems evident that it in ſome degree counteracts the progreſſive courſe of importance derived from the mere antiquity of family, and to diminiſh a prejudice which it has been ſuppoſed to augment, and againſt which poets have often directed their ſatire, and philoſophers declaimed.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XIX.

Plans of the Nobleſſe and Parliaments for Reſiſtance ill combined and ineffectual—Endeavour to deprive the National Aſſembly of the public Confidence—Paper War—The ill Conduct of the French has injured the Cauſe of Freedom more than the Arguments of their Enemies—The Red Book—Miſunderſtanding between M. Necker and M. Camus—Power of Peace and War.

WHEN the importance of the decrees which had been paſſed in a ſhort time by the National Aſſembly are conſidered, and how ſeverely ſo many powerful claſſes of men muſt have felt themſelves ſufferers by the new regulations; it ſeems ſurpriſing that they were not re-

ſiſted with more vigour. It is wonderful that the Clergy in particular did not take the alarm ſooner than they did, and try by every means in their power to prevent the calling of the States-General. It might have occurred to them, that in an incredulous age their immenſe riches would be a temptation to a ſet of men aſſembled for the purpoſe of clearing a vaſt load of debt, and willing to be at as little of the expence themſelves as poſſible: but although the Clergy might naturally have expected to be obliged to contribute a great deal, they could hardly dread being reduced to ſuch ſcanty penſions as are not ſufficient to enable them to ſupport a decent exiſtence.

All monaſtic eſtabliſhments likewiſe were ſuppreſſed, the convent lands confiſcated; the friars and nuns being granted very moderate ſtipends, with the privilege to the latter

ter to remain in their convents if they choſe.

The Parliaments, particularly that of Paris, had been long in the uſe of oppoſing the Sovereign, by refuſing or at leaſt delaying to regiſter his edicts, and by the remonſtrances they publiſhed againſt them. The reſiſtance which they had often made, joined to the bold ſpirit of ſome of their remonſtrances, had no doubt prepared the public mind for ſome important change of government, and haſtened the convocation of the States-General, which afterwards became the National Aſſembly. After this the Parliaments little thought that they ſhould be among the earlieſt victims of a revolution which they had contributed ſo largely to found. Their indignation on this account rendered them much diſpoſed to enter into any conſpiracy againſt the new government.

The mortifications which the whole body

of the Nobleſſe had met with in a thouſand inſtances, their ſudden and complete loſs of importance, and the dread of approaching anarchy, began to make an alteration in the opinion of many even of thoſe who had been the moſt eager for the ſummoning of the States-General. The ſacrifices into which ſome had been ſurpriſed in a moment of enthuſiaſm, and which others had been prompted to make from a ſpirit of retaliation, were repented of in the cool hours of reflection, and were highly diſapproved of by many of the Nobleſſe in the provinces, who had favoured the Revolution at the beginning, from diſcontent with the Court, from a fear of the Baſtile, from a deſire of having the liberty of going out of the kingdom when they pleaſed, and other reaſons; but who now ſaw the torrent of democracy bearing ſo ſtrongly againſt their whole body, that they willingly joined in any meaſures to ſtem it, at the riſk of the ancient ſyſtem's being

being re-eſtabliſhed, with all its grievances. Their plans, however, were ill combined, and feebly ſupported. The Parliament of Toulouſe, with a conſiderable number of the Nobility in that neighbourhood, ventured to publiſh a kind of manifeſto, "inviting all orders of citizens to unite for the preſervation of the monarchy, of law, of property, and, above all, of religion, which were repreſented as in the utmoſt danger from the violence of thoſe who had uſurped all the powers of government, and kept the King himſelf in captivity."

The ancient provincial States were in various places ſummoned to aſſemble. Thoſe of Bearn and Dauphiné actually met; and in the form of aſſembling in the latter the diſtinction of orders was obſerved. Proteſts were taken by the States in ſeveral other provinces againſt the decree relating to Church lands.

The Chamber of Vacations at Rouen

acted in a manner highly unbecoming the character of lawyers, and too like the practices of petti-foggers. They *openly* regiſtered the act ſuſpending their power, and *ſecretly* proteſted againſt what they had done, and tranſmitted their proteſt to the King.

This deſpicable conduct ſhocked the candid mind of the Monarch. He informed the National Aſſembly of the whole tranſaction. The National Aſſembly, being highly irritated, were diſpoſed to the utmoſt ſeverity againſt the offenders. M. de Frondeville, who was both Preſident of the Parliament and alſo of the Chamber of Vacations, attempted to palliate their conduct, by declaring at the bar of the Aſſembly, that the proteſt was meant only as a mark of reſpect to his Majeſty; and, being conſcious that his aſſertion was not very credible, he attempted to move them by imploring *with tears* the clemency of the Aſſembly.

All this would probably have been to little

little purpoſe, had not the King himſelf written a letter in favour of the Chamber of Vacations: and the proceedings againſt them were ſtopped with difficulty; for many members of the Aſſembly contended that they ought to be puniſhed. The majority, however, in deference to the King, voted forgiveneſs.

The Parliament of Metz proteſted againſt the decree of the Aſſembly which ſuſpended them from their functions; and when they had enjoyed the applauſe which they imagined belonged to them for a conduct ſo ſpirited, they began to conſider how they would be able to ſupport it, and avert the indignation of the National Aſſembly. It would certainly have been more prudent in the Parliament of Metz to have made this reflection before they took the proteſt; but that method has at no period been very prevalent in France; and,

in the courſe of the preſent revolution in particular, it is to be remarked that on many important occaſions its greateſt heroes have acted in the firſt place, and deferred reflection until they were cooler. This, we are aſſured, does not proceed from any deficiency of judgment in the French, but merely from their natural vivacity, which outruns their judgment. When the Parliament of Metz had time to reflect on what they had done, their judgment, though a little tardy, informed them that they had no means of ſupporting their proteſt, or reſiſting the power of the National Aſſembly, and that their only reſource was ſubmiſſion, retracting their proteſt, and imploring forgiveneſs; to render which more certain, they ſtooped to requeſt the mediation of the Municipality with the National Aſſembly; and it was in conſequence of this mediation that an amneſty was granted.

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The National Aſſembly diſplayed ſo much firmneſs, and ſeemed ſo little intimidated by thoſe indications of diſcontent, and the partial inſurrections which through the influence, as was ſuppoſed, of the Nobility, the Clergy, and members of the provincial Parliaments, frequently burſt forth, that the idea of a counter-revolution became weaker every day. But what proves that thoſe diſorders did not entirely proceed from the political diſſenſions of the times, but often aroſe from an undiſtinguiſhing diſpoſition to pillage, is, that the houſes and caſtles of ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed among the popular party, as thoſe of M. Charles Lameth, the Duke of Aiguillon, and others, as well as thoſe of the ariſtocratic party, were plundered by the mobs.

There is no queſtion, however, but that the ſteady countenance which the National Aſſembly retained amid the dangers which threatened them depended on the approba-

tion

tion of the people in general; and that the timid conduct of the Parliaments, ſo different from that boldneſs which they had manifeſted before the Revolution in oppoſing the meaſures of the government, was owing to their finding the voice of the people, which had formerly been with them, now ſo much againſt them.

It was evident, therefore, that all attacks on the National Aſſembly would be vain as long as they retained the confidence of the people; and, to have any hopes of effecting a counter-revolution, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to remove this, and give them an ill opinion of that body. With this view a multitude of pamphlets were publiſhed daily againſt the conduct of the Aſſembly, pointing out the wickedneſs or folly of their decrees, and turning the characters and perſons of the members into ridicule.

This kind of attack was retorted with the ſame weapons; and, as at this time the freedom

freedom of the preſs was allowed in its utmoſt licentiouſneſs, not only the ancient Government and the conduct of the preſent Miniſters were painted in the blackeſt colours, but the characters of the King and Queen were alſo libelled, with a malignity unequalled in any age or country.

The conflict at this period reſembled the ſkirmiſhes of ſlingers and light troops which preceded the battles of the ancients; but ſoon after the full-armed force on both ſides ſhocked with each other.

As this paper war was not confined to France, but was extended to other nations; and as the Clergy of all nations were generally the enemies of the French Revolution; it was imagined from the number and ability of ſo many ready-muſtered aſſailants, it would be more powerfully attacked than defended.

It is univerſally acknowledged, however, that

that the moſt eloquent and moſt ſevere work againſt the Revolution that has appeared, is not the production either of an eccleſiaſtic or a Frenchman. The writer alluded to has in many parts of this performance diſplayed the imagination of a poet, and in ſome the foreſight of a prophet; yet his work made more admirers than proſelytes.

Men's political opinions it is generally difficult to alter. They are greatly influenced by our early education, and by our connections of blood or friendſhip, which on many minds make too deep an impreſſion to be effaced by eloquence or reaſoning. Political opinions are alſo under another influence, which is often too powerful for eloquence and reaſoning, namely people's views of intereſt and ambition. At firſt ſight it may be imagined, that ſuch views could only affect their conduct, but not their real opinion; but obſervation has taught

taught us, that when intereſt leans decidedly to one ſide, opinion is apt gradually to take the ſame bias. Reaſon and eloquence, therefore, can have full effect on thoſe only who conſider the ſubject in diſcuſſion according to its own intrinſic merit, regardleſs of the circumſtances above mentioned.

The converts made by the writings on both ſides were on this account much fewer than they would otherwiſe have been; and although ſome of them were admirably written, they had little more effect on the cauſe than many eloquent ſpeeches in the Britiſh Parliament, which only furniſh the members with arguments that never occurred to themſelves, in ſupport of the vote which, at all events, they were determined to give.

The ſhocking conduct of certain frothy monſters, who, in the progreſſive fermentation of the French Revolution, were raiſed to the ſummit, have injured it more in the minds of mankind than all the writings that appeared againſt it.

The love of liberty is naturally linked in the mind with the moſt generous, endearing, and elevated ſentiments: Intrepidity, Benevolence, Cheerfulneſs, Genius, Proſperity, Candour, Friendſhip, and Love, when perſonified by the imagination, move hand in hand with Freedom, like the attendants of Aurora in Guido's picture. But the monſters above mentioned have done all in their power to deſtroy her attractions, and to give her for companions Anarchy, Cruelty, Envy, Rancour, Suſpicion, Hypocriſy, Fraud, and Miſery: ſo that the very name of Liberty, according to a ſtrong alluſion of Mirabeau, makes the ſame impreſſion on ſome people that water does on thoſe afflicted with the hydrophobia.

And, what is equally to be lamented, the conduct of thoſe ſame wretches who diſgraced the cauſe of liberty has rendered the gloomy form of deſpotiſm leſs terrible, and the debaſing expreſſions of ſervility leſs diſguſting, even to thoſe who formerly

dreaded

dreaded and abhorred them above all other evils.

Soon after the Royal Family began their reſidence at Paris, a book was brought into notice, which immediately excited more attention than any other. It was called the Red Book; and contained a regiſter of all the penſions, donations, and every kind of expenditure of the public money by the Court for the laſt twenty years. A Committee had been appointed by the Aſſembly to make enquiry into this expenditure. The Committee had heard of this Red Book. They required of M. Necker that it ſhould be communicated to them, as neceſſary to enable them to make an accurate report to the Aſſembly. The King expreſſed his reluctance to this, that the profuſion of his grandfather might not be expoſed to the eyes of the public. There were certain articles of a later date which, no doubt, he was equally anxious ſhould remain concealed. To remove thoſe difficulties, M. Ca-

mus, the Preſident of the Committee, wrote to M. Necker:

" Il ne s'agit pas de divulguer, pour ſervir d'aliment à une vaine curioſité, des details dont la publicité pourroit faire quelque peine au Roi. Pénétrés, comme toute l'Aſſemblée, des ſentimens du plus profond reſpect pour un Prince qui fait le bonheur de ſon peuple, les membres du Comité mettront toujours beaucoup de réſerve dans les opérations qui l'intereſſeront; mais il eſt indiſpenſable que quelques-uns des ſes membres puiſſent déclarer à l'Aſſemblée qu'ils ont vu ce livre, et qu'ils ont pris les notes neceſſaires au travail qui leur a été confié*."

M. Necker

* There is no intention of divulging circumſtances that might give uneaſineſs to the King; the publication of which could ſerve no purpoſe but that of gratifying idle curioſity. Penetrated, like the whole Aſſembly, with ſentiments of profound reſpect for a Prince who promotes the happineſs of his people, the Committee will always conduct themſelves with delicacy in whatever concerns him; but it is neceſſary that ſome members

M. Necker reminded the Commiſſioners of the Committee of theſe expreſſions in the Preſident's letter, and added that it was in conſequence of them that the King confided the regiſter into their hands.

M. Necker muſt have been greatly ſurpriſed when he found a few days after that the Red Book was publiſhed, without the King's conſent and without a decree of the Aſſembly.

If M. Necker had reaſon to be ſurpriſed, M. Camus had ſome reaſon to be aſhamed. Nothing, however, can be a ſtronger proof that he was not, than the anſwer he made to M. Necker, when he was aſked how he could allow the book to be publiſhed, after the letter he had written, and without permiſſion either from the King or the Aſſembly. "Nous ſommes ſurs de n'être pas deſavoués," replied M. Camus, "par l'Aſſem-

members ſhould be enabled to declare in the Aſſembly, that they have ſeen the book in queſtion, and that they have taken notes reſpecting the buſineſs which has been entruſted to them.

 blée;

blée; quant au Roi, nous ne ſommes pas ſes repréſentans *."

Many articles of this regiſter were calculated to excite clamours againſt the Court; none more than that which related to the King's younger brother, the Count d'Artois; according to which this Prince had received from the public treaſury, during the ſhort adminiſtration of M. Calonne, above a million ſterling. The Count's debts amounted to nearly as much; which could not be imputed to M. Calonne, for it was aſſerted and believed that he had, with admirable generoſity, urged the King to pay them all, and as ſpeedily as poſſible, for this cogent reaſon, that their ſpeedy payment was of importance to the Prince's *tranquillity*.

If it were not a general opinion that Princes very ſeldom have friends, it might

* We are certain that our conduct will not be diſapproved of by the Aſſembly: as for the King, we are not his repreſentatives.

ſeem

ſeem ſurpriſing that no one repreſented to the Comte d'Artois how exceedingly impolitic his profuſion was at a period when the people were burdened with taxes, and when ſuch general diſcontent prevailed in the nation; particularly when it might with equal truth have been repreſented, how infinitely becoming it would be in him, by a retrenchment of his expences, to pay his creditors without any new burden on a nation already ſo heavily burdened. And ſuch retrenchment to a man of his high rank ought to be a ſmaller ſacrifice than to any other perſon; becauſe all eſſential pleaſures and gratifications he would continue to enjoy, and that reſpect and precedence which others attempt to purchaſe by profuſion and oſtentatious expence, his high birth ſecured to him without them.

It will not be thought extraordinary that the penſions were not preciſely in proportion to the merit of the penſioner, or that, in the opinion of ſeveral, thoſe who had the largeſt

were often the leaſt deſerving; but there were reaſons aſſigned for ſome which will ſeem ſingular even to thoſe who are beſt acquainted with the manner in which ſuch rewards are generally diſtributed, particularly one which was appointed to a gentleman, becauſe he had been obliged to aſſign part of his revenues to his creditors till his debts ſhould be paid; and ſeveral perſons were conſpicuous on this liſt who, according to the popular opinion, deſerved public reprobation or puniſhment more than reward. It appeared by this regiſter, that 100,660 livres were diſtributed in annual penſions to performers at the Opera who had retired. This, it was thought, was paying too much for an entertainment which the inhabitants of Paris had previouſly purchaſed at the door of the theatre. Eighteen millions of livres were diſtributed in penſions among the military. This ſum appeared ſo enormous to one perſon, that he declared that Alexander might have penſioned

ſioned the officers who aſſiſted him in the conqueſt of the world at no greater expence. Upon the whole, however, this article was leſs diſapproved of than others. The indignation was higheſt againſt certain courtiers who never ſerved in the armies, and certain favourites of both ſexes who, previous to the publication of the regiſter, were the objects of popular odium.

Many other obſervations were made in the National Aſſembly, when this buſineſs of the penſioners was brought forward, which muſt have been mortifying to thoſe of them who were preſent.

"It is moſt hard," ſaid one member, "that thoſe who are barely able to provide their families with the neceſſaries of life ſhould be obliged to contribute to the ſuperfluities of idle courtiers." "What renders it more intolerable," obſerved another, "is, that thoſe who live at the expence of the people look upon them with diſdain; they conſider them as an inferior race of beings,

created

created to labour without enjoyment; while they conſider themſelves as having a right to enjoyment without labour. To be able to count in their families a long line of indolent men, who cultivated no talent, and were entirely uſeleſs to the State, they call having anceſtry; and on this is founded their claim for penſions." "They hold down their heads," ſaid a third, "when their penſions are mentioned; but they all ſhew their faces again when they are to be paid." A fourth ſaid, "There are but two juſt titles to any ſuccour of this kind from the State; one is, ſervices rendered to the country, and the other is unmerited poverty; and the time, it is to be hoped, approaches, when, without thoſe two united, no man will accept of a penſion from Government who would refuſe an alms."

The total liſt of penſions amounted to about 34,000,000 of livres. This afforded a fruitful theme of declamation againſt the Court and Courtiers. There were members,

bers, however, who had the courage to oppoſe the popular torrent on this occaſion. The Abbé Maury aſſerted that the amount was not ſurpriſing, conſidering the immenſe armies and fleets which France was obliged to maintain, where ſuch numbers of wounded and ſuperannuated officers retired from the ſervice were to be provided for. "It is worthy," continued he, "of a great nation like France to take generous care of its defenders: the Aſſembly ought not narrowly to examine what thoſe brave men have coſt their country: thoſe brave men did not calculate what the ſervice of their country would coſt them. Do not, therefore, give them reaſon to regret that they placed confidence in the generoſity of the country they ſerved."

The Duke of Liancourt obſerved, that, of all the reſources which the neceſſities of the State obliged them to adopt, the moſt painful was a reduction of the rewards beſtowed on merit, and eſpecially the merits

of

of men of that profeſſion, among whom the contempt of death was ſo general, that it was ſcarcely conſidered by them as a virtue.

Theſe and ſimilar obſervations prevented the violent reductions at firſt propoſed; and a plan was finally adopted, more conformable to juſtice as well as humanity: for it was juſtly remarked, that even abuſes of long ſtanding cannot be overſet at once without injuſtice; and, however lightly ſuch things are ſpoken of by thoſe who are not to be perſonally affected by them, every plan for the relief of the public, at the expence of any one claſs of the community, is an act of cruelty; becauſe the injury done to the ſufferers is moſt exquiſitely felt; whereas the benefit received, being ſpread over the whole nation, is hardly perceived by any particular citizen.

In conſequence of the conduct above mentioned on the part of Camus, a breach took place between him and M. Necker; and the

popularity of the latter declined from that moment. The reverſe would have happened in England: Camus would have loſt popularity, and M. Necker would not; becauſe, although he was in ſome meaſure duped in this negotiation, his character for fair dealing and integrity was not touched. And in England the reputation of ſcrupulous honeſty is not only neceſſary for maintaining public confidence and popularity, but it is almoſt ſufficient of itſelf without any talent beſides; whereas in France, honeſty excluſively taken is not in ſuch high eſtimation. What is the reaſon of this? A Frenchman would ſay, perhaps, Becauſe it is more common; but this ſolution would not be thought ſatisfactory in England. It is poſſibly owing to the French putting a greater eſtimation on certain glittering qualities which they themſelves poſſeſs in a higher degree than their neighbours; each being prejudiced in favour of the ſtaple commodity of his own country; as an Engliſh farmer prefers ſtrong beer to Burgundy,

and

and a French peaſant, Burgundy to ſtrong beer.

At this time there was ſome appearance of a rupture between Great Britain and Spain; and the Miniſter laid before the National Aſſembly the preparations which the King thought expedient, and the precautions he had taken on that occaſion. This information gave riſe to various diſcuſſions, and at laſt brought on a debate on the important queſtion, into whoſe hands the nation ought to entruſt the power of make war or peace.

One party were for placing it in the hands of the King, and another in the National Aſſembly. There was nothing very new in the arguments uſed by either. Thoſe who ſupported the firſt opinion urged the example of Great Britain, which enjoyed all the advantages of promptitude and ſecrecy that were attendant on this prerogative's belonging to the King, and was protected from the inconveniences by the privilege which the Parliament retained of

refuſing

refuſing the ſubſidies. They at the ſame time hinted at the immediate neceſſity of augmenting their fleet, and taking meaſures for protecting their colonies againſt the attempts of England.

The other party ſpoke with contempt of the vaunted precaution of refuſing ſubſidies, which, they ſaid, like many other articles in the Britiſh Conſtitution, was more beneficial in appearance than in reality; becauſe this controul, although it might force the King to make a diſadvantageous peace, did not prevent an impolitic or unjuſt war, which, when once declared, muſt be carried on for ſome time at all events; that to refuſe ſubſidies during a war would be refuſing to allow the nation to defend itſelf, and decreeing that all its inhabitants and property ſhould be ſubmitted to the power of an enemy: of courſe ſubſidies never could be refuſed. At the ſame time they aſſert, that the Britiſh nation was too magnanimous, and too great lovers of

liberty, to attack France at a time when, after the example which England had given, ſhe was ſtruggling to eſtabliſh a free Government; that, however agreeable that might be to the ſelfiſh policy of ſome other nations, it was repugnant to the generous character of the Engliſh, whoſe love of general freedom ſurmounted all narrow views of intereſt and of ancient prejudices.

This queſtion, like every other of any importance that came before the Aſſembly, was diſcuſſed in every public garden, ſtreet, coffee-houſe, tavern, and private family in Paris. The public opinion, pronounced by the awful voice of a heated and tumultuous majority, againſt this right being placed in the Executive Power; and the liberty of free diſcuſſion, the liberty of the preſs, and that general liberty which was then enjoyed in France, had already produced one of the worſt effects of ſlavery, namely, rendering it dangerous for individuals to uſe the freedom ſaid to be granted by expreſſing their

their genuine opinions, when they were contrary to that which prevailed among the people. Thoſe who ſpoke in the National Aſſembly in favour of the King's prerogative, on this occaſion, were not only expoſed to the clamorous inſults of the people as they went to and returned from it, but they were obliged to uſe addreſs at the beginning of their ſpeeches to engage the audience to allow them quietly to proceed. It had been propoſed that a manifeſto or declaration ſhould be made by the Aſſembly to all the nations in Europe, that France was determined againſt all augmentation of territory; never to attack her neighbours, nor to wage any war unleſs forced to it in ſelf-defence, and for the purpoſe of repelling aggreſſion. It was aſſerted that this declaration would prevent their being attacked by Great Britain or any of the neighbouring nations; of courſe, that there was no need of aſſigning the prerogative of

declaring war to the Executive rather than the Legiſlative Power, on account of the ſuperior ſecrecy of the former; ſince, if they had no war, there would be no need of ſecrecy.

M. Malouet, who ſpoke with uncommon penetration in favour of the royal prerogative on this occaſion, obſerved, " that ſimilar profeſſions had often been made by other Powers; and therefore, however much he approved of the manifeſto which was propoſed, he had great doubts of its being relied on by the other Powers of Europe as a ſecurity for the continuation of the pacific conduct of France. He obſerved, that we were informed by hiſtory, that free States were as liable to make wars of ambition as the moſt deſpotic. He aſſerted, that the only Power in Europe who during the preſent century had made no wars but of a defenſive nature was the Grand Signior; that the Kings of England ſince the year

1688

1688 had never begun a ſingle war but in conſequence of the declared wiſhes of the nation; and in ſome inſtances the inclination of the King and his Miniſters for the continuation of peace was reluctantly broken on account of the clamour of the merchants for war: that though it was true that the late American war was put an end to by a vote of the Houſe of Commons, it was equally true that it had been begun in conſequence of an act of Parliament to which the Americans refuſed to ſubmit. He added, that France had not entered into the late American war in obedience to the will of the King, though he was then abſolute; but in conſequence of the Miniſter's being puſhed to it by the general wiſh of the people. And on the whole he concluded, that as it was clear that, ſince the Roman republic until the moment he was ſpeaking, free States were as fond of war as deſpotic ones, and ſubjects as eager

for it as their Sovereigns, very little benefit was to be expected from the propoſed manifeſto.

This conſideration, that a diſpoſition for war has exiſted in all nations and in every form of government, notwithſtanding of all mankind being convinced that war is a loſing game even to conquerors, inclines ſome people to think that man is by nature a *fighting animal*, who takes pleaſure in war for its own ſake. If this be the caſe, we need not be ſurpriſed that all the reaſonings of philoſophers and all the ſermons of preachers againſt it have had no more effect than the ſame means when employed to convince men of the hurtful tendency of ſome of their other pleaſures, and to perſuade them to relinquiſh them.

As Mirabeau generally took the popular ſide of a queſtion, and Malouet that which his underſtanding approved without regarding whether it was popular or not, they were often

often in oppoſition to each other. On the occaſion above mentioned, however, Mirabeau joined Malouet, aſſiſted him againſt the torrent of prejudice, and with manly eloquence unfolded the miſchief which he was perſuaded would ariſe from depriving the executive power of the prerogatives of declaring war and making peace. They were, after all, obliged to acquieſce in a kind of middle plan, propoſed by M. Alexander Lameth; which, after being amended by M. Freteau and M. Deſmeunier, was decreed in the following words: " Le droit de la paix et de la guerre appartient à la Nation: la guerre ne pourra être decidée que par un décret du Corps Légiſlatif, qui ſera rendu ſur la propoſition formelle et néceſſaire du Roi, et enſuite ſanctionné par ſa Majeſté *."

As

* The right of declaring war and concluding peace belongs to the Nation: war cannot be decided on but by a decree of the Legiſlative Body, in conſequence

As this decree left to the King the prerogative of announcing to the National Aſſembly the neceſſity of war and peace, which could not be at all deliberated on by them until he laid it before them; and as, after the government came to be in ſome degree ſettled, it was naturally ſuppoſed that his Majeſty would have conſiderable influence on the deciſion of the queſtion; thoſe who ſupported the royal prerogative were not ſo completely defeated on this occaſion as the populace imagined; who, as ſoon as the decree was paſſed, celebrated it as a victory with all their uſual demonſtrations of joy. Some thought the joy ridiculous, and conſidered thoſe as a parcel of dupes who looked on this as a triumph.

Without examining whether the popular

of a formal and neceſſary propoſition made to them by the King, which muſt be afterwards ſanctioned by him.

party

party had gained a victory or not, we cannot think the people were duped who rejoiced as if they had; for, as the only enjoyment which the people of any nation derive from the moſt indiſputed victories they ever obtain conſiſts in the exultation, illumination, and intoxication of a public rejoicing, it does not ſeem to be ill judged in them to ſecure theſe at all events.

Even the Engliſh people, though not ſo apt as the French to be thrown into tranſports of joy, are ſenſible of this, and never allow any thing that can be conſtrued into a victory to eſcape without a public rejoicing. And as real victories have not occurred of late ſo often as could be wiſhed, if ſuch an account has ſometimes been given of defeats that they paſſed for victories, and made the people rejoice, who can blame the fabricators of ſo benevolent a fraud?

CHAPTER XX.

Preparations for the Ceremony of the Confederation.—Duke of Orleans returns to Paris.—Offence taken at the Manner of diſtributing Tickets.—Ceremony.—Jealouſy and Miſunderſtanding between the Officers of the Troops of the Line and the National Guards.—An Inſurrection at Nancy.—M. de Bouillé ordered to march to that Town.—Heroic Action of a young Officer.—Dreadful Scene of Slaughter.—Effect it produced at the Capital.

WITH a view to make a deep and laſting impreſſion on the public mind, and to connect the Revolution with agreeable, magnificent and religious ſentiments, a great public ceremony had been in preparation for ſome time. On this occaſion the King, the National Aſſembly and the

the People were to take an oath to maintain the cauſe of Liberty and the Conſtitution, of which the chief articles were already known.

Another reaſon for this ceremony was, that thoſe provinces which had enjoyed peculiar privileges were ſuppoſed to be irritated at their being deprived of them, and in hopes of having them reſtored provided the new diviſion of France into departments could be overſet; it was therefore thought that ſo remarkable a ceremony, being performed in each ſeparate department, would mark the diviſion with force in the minds of the people; while making them all take the oaths to maintain the Conſtitution, of which the diviſion into departments was an article, would render them averſe to any attempt that might be made to alter that arrangement.

The 14th of July 1790, on account of its being the anniverſary of the taking of the

the Baſtile, was fixed upon for the day of this ceremony, and the extenſive plain of the Champ-de-Mars for the place in which it was to be celebrated. It was thought expedient to ſhape the ground into an amphitheatre of ſuch prodigious extent as ſhould admit the multitude who were to be ſpectators of, or, according to the French phraſe, to aſſiſt at, the ceremony.

Expectation was wound up to a height that attracted numbers not only from the diſtant provinces of France, but ſtrangers from many other countries of Europe; among others the Duke of Orleans, to whom a ſpectacle of this kind was a matter of the firſt importance. The idea of being abſent from ſuch an exhibition becoming inſupportable, he wrote a letter to the Preſident, which was read in the National Aſſembly, announcing that, the object of his miſſion to England being now ended, he had informed the King of his intention to re-

turn—

turn—that he had thought it proper to give the Aſſembly the ſame notice—adding that, if they ſhould not think it neceſſary to deliberate on the ſubject, he ſhould conſider that as a permiſſion for him to return. The Aſſembly threw their eyes on M. La Fayette; but although he had privately uſed means to prevent the Duke from this ſtep, he did not think proper to oppoſe it openly, and therefore he declared that the reaſons which had rendered the Duke's abſence from France expedient did not any longer exiſt.

The partiſans of the Duke of Orleans had been for ſome time preſſing him to return, and were prepared to raiſe an outcry if it ſhould be reſiſted: the Court therefore declined any conteſt which might be attended with more troubleſome conſequences than could reſult from the Duke's preſence, eſpecially as his popularity was conſiderably diminiſhed; and many believed that the eagerneſs he ſhewed for returning had no

motive more profound or dangerous than his paſſion for ſeeing a fine ſhow. No objection being made, the Aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day, which was conſtrued into a permiſſion for his returning to Paris, and he returned accordingly.

But the formation of the amphitheatre for the Confederation being a work of immenſe labour, the Pariſians began to be afraid, a month or three weeks previous to the 14th of July, that it would not be ready ſo ſoon. The inhabitants of Vienna or London might have been conſoled under the apprehenſion of a ſimilar misfortune by the reflexion, that, if it ſhould not be ready by the 14th of July, it would by the 14th of Auguſt: but ſuch a conſideration afforded no comfort to the Pariſians, they loſt all patience at the bare mention of it; it was like telling a company of children, when a feaſt of fruit and ſweetmeats is ready to be ſerved up to them, that they ſhould have

them

them on ſome future day. To prevent ſo dreadful a calamity, ſome of the moſt zealous citizens offered their gratuitous labour to accelerate the work; the applauſe they met with excited others to follow their example; and in a ſhort time the ſame deſire glowed in every breaſt, of both ſexes, every condition, and all ages. The field of the Confederation became the only place of public reſort: all amuſements and employments were neglected for thoſe of wielding the ſpade and the pick-axe, and the moſt diſſipated town in the world became at once the moſt laborious.

Every diſtrict and corporation marſhalled the volunteers belonging to them under their reſpective banners, and marched them daily to the field. Various clubs, ſocieties, and aſſociations, in fancy dreſſes ſuitable to the work they were to be employed in, went alſo in proceſſion, preceded by muſicians. Individuals in all ſituations in life, and of all

religious perſuaſions, Jews as well as Chriſtians, ſoldiers and prieſts, ſailors and monks, judges and dancing-maſters, bankers and beggars, poets, advocates, painters, actors, and tradeſmen of every kind were ſeen working cordially together. There was as great a confuſion of profeſſions and trades at the forming of this ſame amphitheatre, as there was of tongues at the rearing of the tower of Babel—but the firſt, inſtead of preventing, promoted the work. Young women alſo of every denomination were daily ſeen tripping to the field with their gowns tucked, and belts of the national ribbon around their waiſts. There the lover wrought by the ſide of his miſtreſs, enlivened by her ſmiles, and encouraged by the tune of Ca ira.

The day of ſuch vaſt expectation at laſt arrived: the amphitheatre was formed with the altar in the middle, the throne of the King, a magnificent pavilion and commodious

dious ſeats for the Queen and Royal Family, and the triumphal arches through which the various proceſſions were to paſs, were finiſhed only two hours before the proceſſions began.

At day-break the citizens began to flock to the amphitheatre, which, it was ſaid, was of ſufficient extent to contain above three hundred thouſand.

On the preceding night ſome of the diſtricts had diſtributed tickets of admiſſion to the wives and daughters of the moſt diſtinguiſhed or moſt favoured citizens; and no leſs than four thouſand of the National Guards were ordered on duty at the Field of Confederation.

This produced diſcontent and murmurs. It was ſaid that all the citizens had an equal claim to a place in the amphitheatre; that thoſe who went firſt had a right to their choice of every place, except ſuch as were deſtined for the perſons in ſome public office;

religious perſuaſions, Jews as well as Chriſtians, ſoldiers and prieſts, ſailors and monks, judges and dancing-maſters, bankers and beggars, poets, advocates, painters, actors, and tradeſmen of every kind were ſeen working cordially together. There was as great a confuſion of profeſſions and trades at the forming of this ſame amphitheatre, as there was of tongues at the rearing of the tower of Babel—but the firſt, inſtead of preventing, promoted the work. Young women alſo of every denomination were daily ſeen tripping to the field with their gowns tucked, and belts of the national ribbon around their waiſts. There the lover wrought by the ſide of his miſtreſs, enlivened by her ſmiles, and encouraged by the tune of Ca ira.

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office; and the Guards appointed on ſervice at the Champ-de-Mars declared, that they would not oppoſe the entrance of any citizen whether he had a ticket or not.

When theſe declarations were known, the Municipality thought proper to order it to be proclaimed in the middle of the night of the 13th, that the tickets which had been diſtributed were entirely uſeleſs; which made great numbers reſort to the amphitheatre by break of day; and the Guards, inſtead of oppoſing their entrance, endeavoured to amuſe them during the long interval till the ceremony ſhould begin, by military evolutions and dancing the Carmagnole on the plain.

The great proceſſion conſiſted of a band of muſic, a body of the National Guards, cavalry as well as infantry, led by M. La Fayette, and followed by the electors of the city of Paris—the principal members of the Municipality—the Deputies to the National Aſſembly—

Aſſembly—the Deputies from one half of the departments into which France had been divided—a deputation from the army and fleet, headed by two Marſhals of France—the Deputies from the other half of the departments—and a body of horſe and foot belonging to the National Guards, with a band of muſic, cloſed the proceſſion; which was rendered more ſplendid by the banners belonging to the various claſſes of which it was compoſed, and by the martial airs which were played in the intervals between the univerſal exclamation of *Vive la Nation!* which from time to time pierced the air.

The different bodies which formed the proceſſion had particular places aſſigned to them. Thoſe for the members of the National Aſſembly were to the right and left of the King's throne.

Two hundred Prieſts, dreſſed in garments of white linen bound with the national-coloured ribbons, ſtood on the ſteps of the

altar, which had been raiſed for the purpoſe of adminiſtering the oath, for which function the Committee of the Commune appointed the Biſhop of Autun, a man of talents, and of one of the moſt ancient families in France, and a zealous promoter of the Revolution.

When he was about to celebrate the maſs which preceded the pronunciation of the oath, the ſky became obſcure with clouds; a ſtorm of wind took place, and was followed by a deluge of rain. In the brighteſt period of the Roman republic, this would have put an end to the ceremony; and even on the preſent occaſion it was differently interpreted. The enemies of the Revolution whiſpered, that it was an indication that Heaven was diſpleaſed at what was going on; but others declared that, if Heaven was diſpleaſed, it could only be at the number of ariſtocrates, who by their preſence profaned the ceremony. This interpretation

tion would have gained more credit if the ariſtocrates *only* had been drenched in the rain.

The Biſhop proceeded to the celebration of the maſs without any regard to the ſtorm; after which he pronounced a benediction on the Oriflamme or Royal Standard of France, and on the eighty-three banners of the departments which waved around it immediately before the altar.

Conſidering how much pains had been taken, particularly by ſome of the chief promoters of the Revolution, to eradicate religious ſentiments from the minds of the French people, it ſeems ſurpriſing that ſo many religious acts were interwoven with this ceremony. One part of this conduct precluded the effect that ſeems to have been expected from the other, and was as preposterous as that Monk's reaſoning who, preaching on the good produced by religion in the world, ſaid, " Enfin, mes amis, nous

venons du néant, nous rentrons dans le néant; mais la religion conſole de tout *."

The King had been appointed, for that day only, ſupreme and abſolute commander of all the National Guards in France. He named M. La Fayette as his delegate to perform the functions; ſo that La Fayette was for this day not only Commander in Chief of the National Guards of Paris, but High Conſtable of all the armed men in the kingdom, which probably was a greater number than ever had been in any kingdom in the world before.

M. La Fayette, as their repreſentative, took the oath firſt. When he left the bottom of the throne where he had hitherto ſtood, and moved towards the altar for that purpoſe, the trumpets began to ſound; a vaſt band of martial muſic continued to

* In ſhort, my friends, we come from nothing; we are to return to annihilation; but religion is a comfort in all caſes.

play

play while he aſcended the ſteps of the altar. In the view of the multitude who filled this immenſe circus around, he laid the point of his ſword upon the bible which was on the table of the altar, and raiſing his other hand towards the ſky, the muſic ceaſed; an univerſal ſtillneſs enſued; and he pronounced, "Nous jurons d'être à jamais fidèles à la Nation, à la Loi, et au Roi; de maintenir, de tout nôtre pouvoir, la Conſtitution décrêtée par l'Aſſemblée Nationale, et acceptée par le Roi*." The trumpets, beginning to ſound as ſoon as he had finiſhed, were drowned in the acclamation of *Vive la Nation!*

All the members of the National Aſſembly then ſtanding up, the Preſident pronounced the oath in his own name and that

* We ſwear to be for ever faithful to the Nation, to the Law, and to the King; to maintain, to the utmoſt of our power, the Conſtitution decreed by the National Aſſembly and accepted by the King.

of his brethren; which was in like manner followed by muſic and acclamation.

When the King himſelf aroſe, a great body of the National Guards preſſed near the throne, which they ſurrounded with raiſed arms, while he repeated, " Moi, Roi des François, je jure d'employer tout le pouvoir qui m'eſt délégué par la loi conſtitutionelle de l'Etat, à maintenir la Conſtitution décrêtée par l'Aſſemblée Nationale et acceptée par moi, et à faire exécuter les loix *."

A ſignal being given that the King had taken the oath, the air reſounded with alternate peals of artillery and ſhouts of the people; and thus ended a ceremony which,

* I, King of the French, ſwear to employ all the power that is conſigned to me by the conſtitutional law of the State, in maintaining the Conſtitution which has been decreed by the National Aſſembly, and accepted by me; and I ſwear to put the laws in execution.

not-

notwithſtanding the good intentions of many who took the oath, has been conſidered as the grandeſt and moſt extenſive act of perjury that Heaven and Earth was ever witneſs to.

The rain prevented the King from leaving the throne and walking to the altar, where it was expected he would have taken the oath. This circumſtance was afterwards mentioned in the ſeditious groups in the Palais Royal, and at the Jacobin Society, as a proof of the King's averſion to the Conſtitution, and his unwillingneſs to take the oath; but only proves, what a variety of circumſtances indeed demonſtrated in the progreſs of the Revolution, that there was a diſpoſition to calumniate the King, and pervert the moſt innocent and moſt natural parts of his behaviour into crimes.

It will readily be believed that the new order of things was not generally reliſhed

by the officers of the army. Moſt of them were prejudiced againſt the Conſtitution, as Nobleſſe; and, as Soldiers, the formation of the National Guards, and ſeeing men of different, and in their eſtimation far inferior profeſſions, affecting the ſtrut, aſſuming the command, and exacting the reſpect due to officers of the army, was to them highly mortifying.

The inſulting vivacity of ſome young officers who attempted to ridicule the air of thoſe of the National Guards, occaſioned frequent quarrels and ſometimes duels, in which the latter proved, that, if they were not equal to the former in ſmartneſs of air and appearance, they were however on a footing with them in point of courage.

This diſcovery diminiſhed the quarrels and the number of duels, but did not entirely remove the prejudice which the ancient military officers had againſt theſe new national troops.

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The ſame ſpirit did not actuate the common ſoldiers of the army. Great pains had been taken from the beginning of the revolution to conciliate their minds to the new conſtitution. Thoſe pains were not taken in vain. The ſoldiers were as well pleaſed with the appellation of citizen as their officers were averſe to be put on a level with the officers of the National Guards: they ſoon became a little intoxicated with the attention paid to them, and they daily acquired ideas inconſiſtent with the regularity and ſubordination which become ſoldiers. The officers of courſe endeavoured to correct this tendency to licentiouſneſs by every means they could deviſe; among others they tried to alienate their minds from the new ſyſtem, as degrading to them as ſoldiers; they endeavoured to keep them from mixing with the National Guards, to introduce a ſtricter diſcipline, and ſeverer puniſhments,

ments, and gave the men to underſtand that this ſeverity was in conformity with orders from the National Aſſembly.

Such a ſpirit of diſcontent appeared in various diviſions of the army in different parts of the kingdom, that Mirabeau, in conformity with that deciſive conduct which his genius always prompted on great and perilous occaſions, propoſed that the army ſhould be entirely diſbanded, and a new one levied and organized, on the principles of the Conſtitution. Terrified at the boldneſs of this meaſure, the Aſſembly rejected it as raſh and inexpedient.

In no town belonging to France were the opinions of the inhabitants reſpecting the revolution in more violent oppoſition to each other than at Nancy, the capital of Lorrain.

The Nobleſſe of this place were all averſe to the revolution, the Bourgeoiſie favoured it. The regiments which formed

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the garriſon were partly French and partly Swiſs. The ſoldiers were taught by the citizens to conſider their officers as ariſtocrates, as men who oppreſſed them, and who defrauded them of the arrears that were due. Pamphlets ſtating the grievances under which the ſoldiers laboured, and informing them of claims which they had a right to make, were diſtributed among the regiments. By theſe means the men were at length excited to make a formal demand of certain ſums which they aſſerted had been long due to them; the commanding officer refuſed the demand, and threatened thoſe who made it with puniſhment; on which the men broke out into open inſurrection, ſeized the military cheſt, and ſent a deputation from the different regiments to Paris to ſtate the injuſtice which they ſaid had been done, and demand redreſs.

But a ſtatement of the tranſactions had been previouſly made by the commander

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and other officers of the garriſon, which arrived at Paris, and was delivered to the Miniſter of War, who gave ſuch an account of the matter to M. Bailly the Mayor, as induced him to grant an order for arreſting the deputies from the ſoldiers as ſoon as they arrived.

In conſequence of a repreſentation made to the National Aſſembly by M. de la Tour du Pin, at that time Miniſter of War, which ſtated the mutinous lengths to which the garriſon of Nancy had proceeded, and the dangerous example they gave to the army, the Aſſembly paſſed a decree ordering the Marquis de Bouillé, who was commander in chief of the troops at Metz and on all that frontier, to march with a proper force to Nancy, and to ſuppreſs the inſurgents.

M. de Bouillé executed his orders with the intelligence of an experienced officer who knows the importance of promptitude

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in military manœuvres, particularly ſuch as are directed againſt a miſchief ſo apt to increaſe by delay as mutiny.

He arrived much ſooner than was expected before Nancy, with an army compoſed of National Guards as well as troops of the line.

He immediately ſent information that he came in obedience to a decree of the National Aſſembly ſanctioned by the King, to re-eſtabliſh order in the town of Nancy—that as a proof of their ſubmiſſion, he exacted that Meſſrs. Malſeigne and De Noue, two general officers whom the inſurgents had thrown into priſon, ſhould be directly ſet at liberty and ſent to him—that four of the moſt criminal of each of the revolting regiments ſhould be delivered up to him, that they might be ſent under a guard to the National Aſſembly to be judged by them—and that the garriſon ſhould immediately

evacuate the town, and wait his orders at a certain meadow near it.

There was ſome appearance at firſt that thoſe conditions would be ſubmitted to. MM. de Malſeigne and de Noue, after a conſiderable diſpute among the mutineers, during which both the gentlemen ran a great riſk of being killed, arrived ſafe at M. de Bouillé's army.

But when the advanced guard were about to enter the town, the ſoldiers of the garriſon who were ſtationed at the gate, ſuſpecting that they were betrayed, obſtinately refuſed to obey thoſe who had agreed to accept of the conditions; on which they were joined by many who had previouſly conſented to ſubmit. Some of the garriſon who wiſhed to retire were prevented by thoſe who had reſolved to reſiſt; and who, when ſummoned to ſubmit by the troops now within thirty yards of the gate, anſwered

ſwered with threats, and prepared to fire a cannon charged with grape ſhot upon the aſſailants.

A young officer of the name of Déſilles, who belonged to the Régiment du Roi, had been extremely active in his endeavours to perſuade them to ſubmiſſion. This young man, being ſhocked at the idea of that ſcene of bloodſhed which was about to commence, and inſpired by heroic enthuſiaſm, threw himſelf before the mouth of the cannon as they were applying the match, exclaiming, " Stop, for heaven's ſake! Thoſe are your friends, your brethren, whom you are going to deſtroy: they are ſent by the National Aſſembly; ſhall the King's regiment be diſhonoured?" This prevented the immediate firing of the piece. Two perſons, deputed by M. Bouillé, threw their arms around his neck, and joined their efforts with his to prevent the commencement of hoſtilities.

Theſe Deputies entered the town, carrying young Déſilles with them; the troops of the garriſon and thoſe of M. de Bouillé remaining in awful inactivity, regarding each other with threatening looks till the effect of the meſſage brought by the Deputies ſhould be known.

Inſtead of being agreed to, the terms offered were rejected; the Deputies inſulted and abuſed by the furious Council to which they were preſented. When the young Déſilles ſaw this, he ruſhed again between the mutineers and the advanced guard, and fell pierced by ſeveral muſket ſhot, while he was entreating both parties to abſtain from mutual ſlaughter.

The cannon charged with grape was immediately fired, accompanied with a diſcharge of muſketry, which killed three officers and a conſiderable number of M. de Bouillé's troops; others advancing forced the gate and entered the town. Many of them

them were killed from the windows. The inſurgents, however, were driven from houſe to houſe; and a dreadful ſcene of carnage enſued. Three hundred were killed or wounded; four hundred were made priſoners with arms in their hands; the reſt laid down their arms, and ſubmitted to the orders of M. de Bouillé, who ſent them under eſcorts to different garriſons.

The firſt accounts of theſe tranſactions occaſioned amazement and ſorrow at Paris. Thoſe ſenſations were, by the induſtry of the ſeditious, ſoon converted into rage againſt M. de Bouillé; though, had he been leſs alert, and had the mutiny gained vigour in conſequence of his inactivity, the ſame perſons would in all probability have raiſed an outcry againſt him for not doing that which they now blamed him for having done.

Whatever regret the National Aſſembly

might feel at the reſult of this affair, they were not ſo much affected by it, nor by the rage of the populace, as to be prevented from publicly approving the conduct of a man who had obeyed their orders with greater expedition and efficacy than they had reaſon to expect. They voted the thanks of the Aſſembly to M. de Bouillé and the troops which ſerved under him.

This vote, however, did not diminiſh the rage of the Pariſian populace, who loudly exclaimed againſt M. de Bouillé for having ſhed ſo much blood, as they ſaid, unneceſſarily. Vaſt numbers aſſembled in the Palais Royal, from whence they went, and, ſurrounding the hall of the National Aſſembly, demanded his head, and the diſmiſſion of the Miniſters, whom they accuſed of having by miſrepreſentations betrayed the Aſſembly into the fatal decree under which he had acted.

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This ſpirit of ſedition ſeemed to augment every moment, and would probably have produced very dreadful effects, had it not been for the ſteady conduct of M. La Fayette and the National Guards acting under his orders.

CHAPTER XXI.

M. Necker retires—Reflections on that Event—Inveteracy of the French againſt Miniſters of State and Eccleſiaſtics—Long Habit more neceſſary to acquire Excellence in bodily than in mental Exertions—The National Aſſembly inſiſts that the King ſhall ſanction their Decree, obliging the Clergy to take the Oath to the Conſtitution—The Pope diſapproves of it—The Effect this has on the Minds of the People—The King's Aunts determine to leave France and go to Rome.

M. NECKER, who had for ſome time ſeen the decline of his popularity, and had already received ſeveral mortifying proofs that his influence in the National Aſſembly was greatly diminiſhed, became alarmed for his perſonal ſafety; for in the popular outcry againſt the Miniſters, no exception

exception was made in his favour. He thought proper, therefore, to ſend a letter with his reſignation to the Aſſembly, on the pretext that his health required retreat and country air. Immediately after it was read, ſeveral members called for the order of the day; which is uſually done when the matter actually under conſideration is thought unworthy of their attention.

M. Necker had lent above two millions of livres to the public treaſury, which his friends had often adviſed him to withdraw and place in greater ſecurity; but he had always refuſed; and, on his leaving Paris, he declared that he had left that ſum, with his hotel and furniture, as pledges for the faithfulneſs of his adminiſtration.

Several of the ſections of Paris actually aſſembled, on purpoſe to determine whether or not he ought to be permitted to leave the kingdom before his accounts were examined and approved; for he had now ſo entirely

loſt his popularity, that thoſe very Pariſians who a few months before had conſidered him as the guardian angel of France, now queſtioned whether all the fortune which he left behind would indemnify the Nation for the money of which he had defrauded it. But Mirabeau, Camus, and others, who were fully convinced of M. Necker's integrity, and, ſufficiently ſenſible of the mutability of public opinion, had long wiſhed him out of France, interpoſed with the ſections, and prevented any oppoſition from being made to his departure.

The calumnies of M. Necker's enemies were not confined to Paris: they were circulated all over France. He had not proceeded on his journey above forty leagues until he was ſtopped by the municipal officers of a ſmall town. They diſregarded his paſſports, and ſtill more a particular letter from the King which he alſo ſhewed them. They inſiſted that he ſhould remain where he was until they

they received inſtructions from the National Aſſembly. He and Madame Necker were accordingly guarded like State priſoners, until two Deputies from the Municipality returned from Paris with the permiſſion of the Aſſembly for their being ſet at liberty.

Before they were out of France, they were again ſtopped, not by the Magiſtrates but by the populace of Veſoul, who, after a number of inſults, examining their papers and every article in their trunks, and detaining them ſeveral hours in the dread of ſome greater violence, reluctantly allowed them to proceed on the journey at laſt, although they could find nothing on which to found a pretext for detaining them.

In this manner was M. Necker obliged to fly from the country, where he had but a few months before been almoſt adored—a man whoſe exile a ſhort time before had excited univerſal regret; who, although a Proteſtant and a foreigner, had enjoyed the

confidence of the Nation more than any Roman Catholic Miniſter, who was alſo a native, ever had done: and, what makes the capricious fickleneſs of the French appear in a ſtronger point of view, is, that no change of ſyſtem or political conduct on the part of M. Necker occaſioned this ſudden alteration of their opinion. Neither his fidelity nor his diligence was ever called in queſtion; and there is ſtrong reaſon for believing that his earneſt wiſh and ſupreme ambition were to arrange the finances of France; to eſtabliſh a government free from the tyranny of the old one, and which ſhould guard with impartiality the liberties of the People and the dignity of the Crown. The great error into which both he and the Nation fell, but for which he was more excuſable than the Nation, was imagining that he had genius and talents to accompliſh ſuch an undertaking: for, however ſtrange it may ſeem, nothing is more certain than that the public

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over-rated M. Necker's abilities as much as he himſelf did. But ſo many of mankind think highly of themſelves without any other mortal to keep them in countenance, that the man who has an exalted notion of his own abilities, knowing that the world in general are of the ſame way of thinking, may be excuſed, although both he and the world are miſtaken. M. Necker is accuſed of being oſtentatious and vain; but if a man maintains perfect integrity towards the public, is benevolent towards individuals, fulfils the relative duties of life conſcientiouſly, and ſtrives to be uſeful to mankind, is it not ungenerous to inſiſt ſo much on his vanity? Would it not be fortunate for mankind, if many more of them had the ſame kind of vanity?

The uprightneſs of men's intentions ſeldom ſaves them from the enmity of thoſe who think they have ſuffered by their meaſures. M. Necker has been abuſed by one party

party in France for attempting any alteration whatever in the government; and by another, for not puſhing reformation much farther than he did; and that nation in general, after having ranked him among their ableſt Politicians and greateſt Miniſters, ſeem now to conſider him as little above the level of common Bankers or Comptrollers of Finance.

It has been often obſerved, that great occaſions and hazardous ſituations have a tendency to create and develop talents; and of courſe that times of revolution and important ſtruggles in States are the moſt productive of great men. It is aſſerted by ſome, however, that this French Revolution forms a contradiction to the general obſervation reſpecting the tendency of revolutions, inaſmuch as, although it has occaſioned a long and ſevere ſtruggle, and given riſe to very great crimes, yet it has not produced one man who can be with

propriety called *great*, even allowing that wickedneſs did not preclude from the title.

Without entering into that diſcuſſion, it muſt be acknowledged that, if the French Revolution has not given riſe to any great men, it has had an effect more extraordinary and unexpected; having entirely overſet and annihilated the greatneſs of more men than any other revolution ever did. To enumerate inſtances would be equally ſuperfluous and invidious; as, without including the great men of France itſelf whom the Revolution has converted into little men, the recollection of every reader at all acquainted with the modern hiſtory of Europe, muſt furniſh inſtances of Generals as well as of Stateſmen, who were ſuppoſed to have ſecured ample and conſpicuous places in the gallery of Fame, but whoſe greatneſs has dwindled ſo wonderfully in the courſe of this revolution, that it is now generally believed they will be exhibited only

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as miniatures. So that, in the loſs of the admiration he at one time poſſeſſed, M. Necker has many fellow-ſufferers.

Except the Clergy, no ſet of men have been treated with ſo much ſeverity by the French ſince the Revolution as their Miniſters of State. It would ſeem as if that people had conceived a rancour againſt all who preſumed to govern either their ſouls or bodies. In this, as in many other particulars, their conduct is the reverſe of the Engliſh, who have always behaved to their Clergy with the reſpect due to their characters and ſacred functions; have on all occaſions heaped riches and honours on thoſe Stateſmen, whoſe fortunate or wiſe adminiſtration has rendered the country proſperous; and in many inſtances have behaved to thoſe who from negligence or error have involved it in diſtreſs, with a degree of patience and forbearance which aſtoniſhes all other nations.

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M. La Tour du Pin was obliged to reſign ſoon after the retreat of M. Necker. His example was followed by all his colleagues in adminiſtration, except M. de Montmorin. M. Deleſſart, the diſciple and friend of M. Necker, was joined to M. de Montmorin as part of the new adminiſtration. Both were men of principle, though neither were popular; and both afterwards were the victims of popular rage and cruelty; M. Deleſſart, with the priſoners from Orleans who were ſlaughtered at Verſailles without having ever had any trial; M. de Montmorin at Paris, after he had been tried and acquitted.

Nothing is a more general ſubject of ridicule than for people who have not been bred to a particular profeſſion to preſume to have knowledge in it, or to hold opinions contrary to thoſe of men of the profeſſion who are ſuppoſed to have ſtudied the ſubject. The folly of this is pretty univer-

fally allowed when the caſe is ſtated in general; but it is aſtoniſhing what a number think themſelves individually exceptions to the general rule, and make no ſcruple of diſputing with a phyſician on medicine, with a barriſter on law, or even with a clergyman on divinity; while they laugh at any other perſon who like themſelves has not been educated to thoſe profeſſions for doing the ſame. The maxim, *Ne ſutor ultra crepidam*, ſeems more juſt, however, when applied to ſuch profeſſions as require mechanical exertion only, than when applied to ſuch as require exertions of the mind: for long habit is more neceſſary for the attainment of excellence in the mechanical arts, than in thoſe which depend on the power and extent of the underſtanding. A man, however ingenious, who would attempt to make a common chair without having been bred a carpenter, would certainly ſucceed much worſe than one accuſ-

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tomed to the trade, though far his inferior in ingenuity; becauſe the power of uſing the fingers and applying the tools with dexterity is to be acquired by frequent uſe and long habit only. The experience of every perſon who can write is a ſtrong proof of this; and though a man has been making uſe of his fingers all his life, and can do it with dexterity to ſome particular purpoſes, yet when he applies them to a purpoſe he never before attempted, he will do it clumſily until he has rendered them pliable and obedient to his intention by habit. But the mind is more flexible than the muſcles. A man who has been in the habit of reflecting and reaſoning all his life will reaſon better, even on a new ſubject, than another of a narrower underſtanding who has been accuſtomed to inveſtigate it. Few things are ſuppoſed to require a greater number of talents, and more ſtrength of underſtanding, than the art of commanding an army and

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conducting a campaign; yet the late American war and the preſent war with France in a ſtill more ſtriking manner demonſtrate, that it is not abſolutely neceſſary to be bred to the military profeſſion to enable men of great natural acuteneſs and ſtrong underſtanding to excel in it.

The buſineſs of a Stateſman is thought, above all others, to require ſuperior talents and much experience; yet the firſt have been found to ſucceed without the ſecond. Inſtances might be given of the affairs of a great nation being conducted for a ſeries of years in the moſt proſperous manner by men of little or no experience, and whoſe meaſures were not rendered more proſperous by experience when it was acquired. From the behaviour of the French at this time, a man might have been led to infer that it really was their opinion that experience was rather detrimental to a Stateſman; for the members of the National Aſſembly who had

had leaſt experience in affairs of State were convinced that they could govern the country better than the Miniſters; and the coffee-houſe orators, the groups of the Palais Royal, and people in the tribunes, who had no experience at all, ſeemed fully perſuaded that they could form better decrees than the members of the National Aſſembly, who had had the experience of two years. The ſevere decrees which the Aſſembly paſſed againſt the Clergy, however, were ſo far from being of the number of thoſe which diſpleaſed the people, that they were the moſt approved of; and it muſt ſeem ſurpriſing that a claſs of men, diſtinguiſhed for their power over the minds of the people, ſhould have loſt it ſo completely at a period when it was ſo much their intereſt to retain it. In vain did the moderate part of the National Aſſembly repreſent thoſe decrees as unjuſt; and in vain did ſome inſinuate that they were impious.

The violent harangues of thoſe who were inveterate enemies of the Clergy, made more impreſſion on the minds of the populace than all the remonſtrances of the others; which was probably owing to the ſmall hold that religious ſentiments had on the minds of a certain portion of the people; from another portion conſidering the cauſe of religion and the pecuniary intereſt of the Clergy as unconnected; and thirdly, from the demagogues repreſenting that by the decrees in queſtion the people would reap immediate benefit; whereas the benefits which the Clergy held forth to them as the conſequence of oppoſing thoſe decrees, were to be reaped at a diſtant period and in another world.

It had been enacted in July 1790, that every beneficed clergyman ſhould take a ſolemn oath to be faithful to the Nation, the Law, the King, and to maintain the new Conſtitution, particularly thoſe decrees which

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regarded eccleſiaſtics. This regulation, however, had not been ſtrongly enforced, and was in a ſhort time almoſt entirely neglected; but when the Clergy were univerſally accuſed of counter-revolutionary practices, it was reſolved that this decree ſhould be executed with rigour all over the kingdom; and that thoſe who refuſed or neglected to take the oath ſhould be ejected from their benefices, and ſuffer other penalties.

It would have been more prudent as well as more equitable to have appointed no penalty or puniſhment, except to ſuch as actually excited the people to inſurrection. The exacting ſuch an oath unqueſtionably was perſecution; and it produced the effect which perſecution never fails to produce: it rouſed the ſpirit of enthuſiaſtic reſiſtance. Several eccleſiaſtics who would have ſubmitted to the Conſtitution, and refrained from any active part againſt it, could not prevail on themſelves to take

this oath. Some who would have had no ſcruple in taking it from any conſcientious or pious motive, refuſed; becauſe they could not bear the idea of paſſing for baſe-minded time-ſervers, which they imagined they ſhould be deemed, if they took it in the preſent circumſtances. Many waited till they ſhould be informed of the Pope's deciſion before they determined whether they ſhould take or refuſe the oath. The King himſelf had delayed to ſanction this ſevere decree till he ſhould know his Holineſs's approbation; which Cardinal Bernis, the King's ambaſſador at Rome, was inſtructed to apply for.

This was a requiſition which it cannot be thought the Ambaſſador would be very eager to urge, or the Pope very prompt to grant, in the manner expected by the National Aſſembly.

In the meanwhile, as the diſturbances in the provinces augmented, and were gene-

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rally imputed to the manœuvres of the Clergy, the National Aſſembly appointed that their Preſident ſhould wait on the King, and require his reaſons in writing, ſigned by himſelf and counterſigned by the Miniſter, of the delay in ſanctioning the decree: on which the King thought proper to ſanction the decree without waiting for the approbation of his Holineſs; and at the ſame time he wrote a very complaiſant letter to the Aſſembly, in which he declares that his only reaſon for having delayed ſanctioning this decree againſt the Clergy was, an earneſt wiſh that ſome leſs ſevere meaſure could have been deviſed; and that he agreed to it then, in the hopes that his ſhewing the world that he and the National Aſſembly were of the ſame ſentiments would preclude future reſiſtance to the decree, and quiet the agitation of people's minds on that ſubject.

It is evident, however, from this very

anſwer, that the King and National Aſſembly were not preciſely of the ſame ſentiments.

The Pope ſoon afterwards declared his diſapprobation of the oath; which determined many of the Clergy to refuſe it who had remained until then in ſuſpenſe; but did not prevent all thoſe who refuſed the oath from being ejected from their benefices, and others appointed in their ſtead.

As the oath was conſidered by ſome as perjury, being in their opinion a breach of that which they had taken at their ordination; and as the Pope had now declared his poſitive diſapprobation of it, a refuſal of it by Roman Catholic Clergy, in a Roman Catholic country, could not, in candour, be conſtrued into a proof of a ſeditious ſpirit, or of rebellious deſigns againſt the exiſting government; and therefore the cruelty and injuſtice of depriving them of their livings for refuſing it appears in a ſtriking light; particularly as ſome of the Clergy offered to

overleap

overleap other difficulties, and take the oath, provided it ſhould not be conſtrued ſo as to imply their admiſſion of any ſpiritual authority in the Aſſembly. But even this ſalvo was refuſed to them.

The enforcing of this decree was a ſource of unhappineſs not only to the excluded Clergy but likewiſe to the moſt pious of the people, whoſe conſciences did not permit them to receive the Sacrament at the hands of Prieſts whom they thought unworthy of adminiſtering it; for the Pope's interdiction, which was treated with contempt by the licentious populace of Paris, was viewed in a very ſerious light by the ſober and ſuperſtitious peaſantry of the provinces. When it was urged to one of them that he ought to have no ſcruple at receiving the Sacrament from a Prieſt who had taken the oath, ſince the King himſelf had ſanctioned the decree, "My body," ſaid the peaſant,

" belongs to the King; but my ſoul belongs " to the Pope."

In the full perſuaſion that ſo valuable a part of his property was at the Pope's diſpoſal, it is not ſurpriſing that this poor man was cautious of doing what his Holineſs diſapproved of. But, laudable as this peaſant's conduct was, what is recorded of another is ſtill more praiſe-worthy, and infinitely more diſintereſted. One of his neighbours having reproached him for having had his child baptiſed by a Prieſt juſt eſtabliſhed in the pariſh, who had taken the oath, inſtead of applying to the former Curé who had been ejected: " Why, my child ſeemed very weakly," replied the peaſant; " and I was ſo much afraid of its dying without baptiſm, that I took the firſt Prieſt I could get to ſecure the poor infant's ſoul at all events." " But after what the Pope has declared," ſaid his neighbour, " does not

not your own ſoul run ſome riſk, for having employed one of thoſe impious Prieſts who diſobey his Holineſs?" "I have time to repent and get abſolution," rejoined the peaſant; "whereas my poor innocent babe was in danger of ſlipping off in an inſtant without baptiſm or any chance of ſalvation *."

The view of the National Aſſembly in enforcing the oath, and in ejecting from their benefices all who refuſed it, no doubt was to deprive thoſe perſons of the government of the Church who were diſaffected to the Revolution, and to place it in the hands of men who could have no hopes of retaining their ſituation but by ſupporting it. Nevertheleſs it ſeemed impolitic to ſtrike at

* Before the Revolution it was a received opinion even among the populace, that the ceremony of baptiſm is valid although performed by a heretic; but at this period ſome of the peaſantry were made to believe that to employ a Prieſt who had taken the oaths was a mortal ſin.

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the whole body of the Clergy at once, and ſo unite in one common cauſe four diſtinct ſets of men who acted on very different principles from each other—namely, thoſe who objected to the oath from motives of pure piety; thoſe who objected, from ſtrict notions of church authority; thoſe who, without having much regard for either, had a perſuaſion that the government would ſoon be reſtored to its antient channel; and fourthly, thoſe who had a repugnance from taking the oath, merely becauſe they knew it would be imputed to mean and intereſted motives.

Of one hundred and thirty-one Biſhops, two or three only were prevailed on to conform to the decree of the Aſſembly, and preſerve their biſhopricks at the expence of taking the oath. All the reſt were ejected from their benefices.

So ſtriking an act of ſeverity againſt a body of men of ſuch importance, and of an

order

order who have had the moſt powerful influence on the minds of the people, might have been dreaded by any government, but particularly by one ſo looſe and unſettled as that of France at this time.

The ſending of five Biſhops to the Tower in the year 1688 ſhocked the Engliſh Nation to ſuch a degree, that it facilitated the Revolution, and prepared the minds of the people for the excluſion of King James, which followed ſoon after. That infatuated Monarch, it is true, raiſed the ſpirit of the people againſt him not only by attacking *their* religion, but alſo by endeavouring to force upon them another religion which they deteſted; and the laſt perhaps created full as much indignation as the former.

This is an error of which the leaders of the French Revolution cannot be accuſed; for, although all of them have in ſome degree contributed to weaken the national at-

tachment to their old religion, none of them have taken pains to introduce a new one. Yet after all that has been ſo triumphantly declaimed and written by them againſt their Biſhops and Prieſts and Monks, and the religion which they taught, it does not appear that the minds of the people are much enlightened, their manners more amiable, or the national character greatly improved by the abolition of all thoſe abettors of ignorance and error.

The King's two aunts, the only remaining daughters of Lewis XV. now conſiderably advanced in life, had been long diſtreſſed at the innovations of which they had already been witneſſes, and alarmed at the thoughts of others which they dreaded. Notwithſtanding their having been bred in a licentious court, and witneſſes of the profligate life of their father, they both entertained ſtrong ſentiments of devotion. Lewis XV. himſelf had been a conſtant attender

tender on public worſhip, aſſiduous in private acts of devotion, and a ſincere believer in chriſtianity; all that he wiſhed to compound for was the privilege of infringing its precepts; and that only during thoſe periods in which he was in good health; for it appears that when he was ill at Metz, and at other intervals of ſevere indiſpoſition, he was prevailed upon by his confeſſor to diſmiſs his miſtreſs, and, notwithſtanding his high rank, to live in the ſame degree of temperance and ſelf-denial that could have been expected from any common ſick perſon; ſo that, on the whole, he conſidered himſelf as a tolerably good Chriſtian. The Princeſſes, who could not alter the conduct of their father, had always lamented it, and practiſed the precepts of the religion in which he only believed. They were now exceſſively ſhocked at the cruelty with which the Miniſters of religion were treated, and that

univerſal diſregard of all religion which prevailed in France; but when they underſtood that his Holineſs had openly declared againſt the oath which the National Aſſembly were enforcing, they began to think that not their lives only, but alſo their ſalvation, would be in danger by their remaining in a country where ſuch impiety was tolerated. They therefore informed the King that they intended to leave France, and go to Rome, where under the Pope's protection they might be peaceably allowed to exerciſe the duties, and enjoy the conſolations, of their religion. The King endeavoured to diſſuade them from this journey; but did not think it proper to put any conſtraint upon them when he found that they perſiſted in their intention.

The populace of Paris were not ſo indulgent as the King. They now thought that they had a right to interfere in all State affairs, and alſo to conſider whatever they

pleaſed

pleaſed as an affair of State. A numerous deputation from that body of females known by the name of Dames de la Halle, waited on the Princeſſes at Bellevue; and, in the expectation that they would obtain what had been refuſed to the King, communicated to them the reaſons which in their opinion ought to determine the Princeſſes not to quit the kingdom. This deputation probably haſtened the departure of the Princeſſes, who ſet out on their journey very ſoon afterwards.

This was no ſooner known at Paris than it excited a commotion far greater than could have been naturally expected from the occaſion.

A rumour having been ſpread that *Monſieur* the King's brother, and his Princeſs, intended to follow his aunts, a multitude aſſembled at the palace of the Luxembourg to entreat him to ſtay. He thought it expedient to appear among them, and aſſure them

them that he had no intention of leaving Paris; adding, that he never would quit his fellow-citizens: from which it may be concluded, that he did not conſider the inhabitants of Paris as his fellow-citizens; for he ſecretly quitted them ſome time after, and has not returned to them ſince.

When the two Princeſſes arrived at Moret, the Municipality of that place thought it improper to allow them to proceed any farther until a deputation ſhould be ſent to Paris, to know whether or not their journey was approved of by the National Aſſembly.

The Princeſſes would have been obliged to remain at Moret till the return of this deputation, had not a detachment of huſſars which arrived about the ſame time thought that they had as good a right to decide on this ſubject as the Municipality of Moret; and they determined that the Princeſſes ſhould be allowed to go when they pleaſed.

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The Princeſſes proceeded accordingly. But when they arrived at Arnay-le-Duc, the Municipality of that place were of the ſame opinion with that of Moret; and the unfortunate ladies were under the neceſſity of remaining there until the National Aſſembly ſhould be conſulted. The Ambaſſadors from Arnay-le-Duc came to the bar of the National Aſſembly at a time when, as it would appear, the members were much in the humour of debating, and greatly at a loſs for a ſubject. After a warm diſcuſſion of many hours, it was finally decreed, that the two old ladies might continue their journey to Rome without farther moleſtation.

CHAPTER XXII.

Death and Character of Mirabeau—Inſurrection of the Populace of Paris—Chevaliers du Poignard—The Royal Family ſtopped as they were going to St. Cloud—Reflections—Exceſſive Inſolence of the Rabble—Société Fraternelle—Libels.

ABOUT this time Mirabeau died. He had been prevented from appearing in the National Aſſembly for ſome time by a ſudden decline of his bodily ſtrength; but his mind, retaining its vigour to the laſt, was occupied during his confinement on the public concerns. Even on his death-bed he dictated his thoughts on a ſubject then under diſcuſſion by the Aſſembly. What he had dictated was read to the Aſſembly by the

the Biſhop of Autun on the very day that the death of Mirabeau was announced.

The exceſſes in which he had indulged overcame the force of a very vigorous conſtitution, and brought him to his grave at the age of forty-two.

His mind was vigorous, comprehenſive, and acute. With the quickneſs of thought, variety of knowledge, and happineſs of expreſſion which conſtitutes eloquence, he alſo poſſeſſed that power of voice which is neceſſary to give it full effect in a numerous aſſembly. To a talent for repartee he joined the powers of profound reaſoning: ſo that he was equally prepared to diſconcert his opponent with ſarcaſm, or to refute him by the force of argument.

Although his features were harſh and his perſon clumſy, he had the art of rendering himſelf agreeable to women—an art which he too often uſed to libertine purpoſes, and, as it is aſſerted, with greater ſucceſs than

many whoſe intentions were equally profligate, and their perſons better formed for ſeduction.

His exceſſive love of pleaſure would have tended to render him completely diſſipated, and of courſe left him ignorant, had he not employed the long intervals of confinement and retirement that his debauches and his want of money obliged him to, in ſtudies which, with better health and more riches, he would have neglected.

Had he become an early favourite at Court, and been placed in thoſe high and lucrative ſituations that his birth and talents gave him a claim to, he might have been ſatisfied to have remained a mere courtier, and ſupporter of that oppreſſive and arbitrary ſyſtem, againſt which he inveighed ſo violently and which he attacked with ſuch energy. His tedious impriſonments and the hardſhips he ſuffered, ſometimes in conſequence of his own irregularities, and ſometimes

from

from the tyranny of others, inſpired him with ſympathy for the oppreſſed, hatred againſt lettres de cachet, an unconquerable averſion to tyranny, and a fervent deſire of eſtabliſhing freedom in his native country.

As Mirabeau was a man of violent paſſions, he was on ſome occaſions carried by his reſentment to oppoſe the meaſures of the Miniſters which his judgment approved; and on other occaſions there is reaſon to believe that he accepted of conſiderable ſums from the Court to ſupport meaſures in the National Aſſembly, which, independent of that circumſtance, he would have ſupported as agreeable to his own political principles. The queſtion on the King's abſolute veto—for the Miniſters being members of the National Aſſembly—and ſome others, in favour of which he ſpoke with great ability, and at the riſk of his popularity, were of this nature. This conduct was no doubt highly unbecoming, and gives

ſome ground for the idea which many entertain, that he was as corrupt in politics as profligate in private life. It does not appear, however, that he ever lent his aid to any public meaſure inconſiſtent with his own ideas of liberty, and his avowed love of a monarchical form of government limited by law *."

Mirabeau has been repreſented in the

* It is recorded of the famous Marſhal Turenne, that when he commanded the French army in Germany, deputies from a certain town came to his camp, and offered him an hundred thouſand crowns, on condition that he would not march his army through their territory. "As your town is not on the route which I intend to take," ſaid he, "I cannot in conſcience accept the money you offer."

Mirabeau in the ſame ſituation would certainly not have acted in the diſintereſted and dignified manner that Marſhal Turenne did; nor will his general character bear a compariſon with that of the Marſhal; yet I queſtion if Mirabeau would, in obedience to the orders of Lewis XIV, have ravaged and ruined the Palatinate.

blackeſt and moſt diſguſting colours; but theſe accounts are to be received with caution and reſerve; for, as few men have ever united in their character ſo many of thoſe qualities which are apt to create enmity, ſo few men ever had ſo many enemies. As an active agent in bringing on the Revolution, he was hated by all the friends of the old ſyſtem of government. As a friend to monarchy, he was diſliked by thoſe who wiſhed to have a republican form of government in France. As an avowed free-thinker, he ſhocked the pious, and was traduced by the hypocritical. As a man of wit, he was dreaded and deteſted by the dull; and as his talents for conducting a popular aſſembly were unequalled, he was an object of envy to all who aſpired to be leaders in the Revolution.

His death was an irreparable loſs to the Royal Family; for there is reaſon to think, that, had he lived, thoſe who have ſince

his death figured as principals in the Revolution would have acted very ſubordinate parts. His ſuperior talents and addreſs would have given ſuch energy to the firſt movements of the new Conſtitution as would have precluded the attempts of the Republicans againſt it on the one hand, and thoſe of the abettors of the old government on the other. The friends of limited monarchy would have united; the wiſeſt of the Courtiers would have remained contented with the degree of power left in the King's hands; the democrates would have been ſatisfied with the ſhare of democracy which belonged to the Conſtitution; many of the Gironde party would have rallied under Mirabeau; ſuch wretches as Hebert and Chaumette would never have been heard of; Marat would have been condemned and executed; and Roberſpierre would never have had it in his power to commit thoſe crimes which have deluged

France with blood, ſhocked all Europe, and diſgraced human nature. Mirabeau himſelf imagined, that he could have preſerved the Conſtitution; but he foreſaw its deſtruction in his death; and a little before he expired, he predicted that the French monarchy would not ſurvive him long.

Whatever enmity had exiſted againſt Mirabeau among the leaders of the different factions during his life, all ſeemed diſpoſed to pay public honours to his memory after his death. Thoſe demanded by the various ſections, and decreed by the National Aſſembly, with the magnificence of his funeral, are proofs of this. As for the attachment of the Pariſian populace, it does him little honour, ſince they ſhewed the ſame, or greater, to ſo very deſpicable a being as Marat.

The importance of the audience who occupied the galleries of the National Aſſembly,

bly, and of the populace of Paris, increaſed more rapidly after the death of Mirabeau than it had done before; and although he was one of thoſe who had wiſhed the Aſſembly to be removed from Verſailles to Paris, yet, if he had lived, he would have had reaſon to regret that the meaſure had been adopted; for, although Mirabeau had greater talents than any of his cotemporaries for guiding a popular Aſſembly ſuch as that of the Convention, men far inferior to him, the Heberts and Chaumettes, and particularly the Marats, were better qualified for exciting the furious unthinking rabble.

It is impoſſible to unfold the motives of every inſurrection which occurred during the Revolution. Some which were begun in conſequence of a premeditated plan failed and came to nothing, from the error or weakneſs of the conductors. Some aroſe from mere accident, independent of any

formed

formed ſcheme, and became formidable from being thought the reſult of profound deſign and extenſive conſpiracy.

A rumour prevailed that the caſtle of Vincennes was intended to replace the Baſtile; that arms and ammunition had been ſecretly conveyed thither; and that it deſerved deſtruction juſt as much as its brother, whoſe Gothic brows had for ſo many years frowned over the ſuburbs of St. Antoine. Whether this idea originated in the brains of the rabble from no other motive than their inherent taſte for confuſion and miſchief, or was ſuggeſted by men who had ſome view in it which afterwards failed, is uncertain; but on the 28th of February a large body of men ſet out from that patriotic ſuburb, with the avowed intention of deſtroying the caſtle of Vincennes.

The Mayor of Vincennes, having had notice of this, demanded aſſiſtance; and a detachment of National Guards, conſiſting of

of cavalry and infantry, were immediately ſent, and drawn up for the protection of the caſtle. But thoſe who were bent on its deſtruction were at pains to perſuade the national troops, that no caſtle was more worthy of entire demolition; that it would be diſgraceful for them to attempt to prevent it. By dint of theſe remonſtrances, the National Guards became more diſpoſed to aſſiſt than to repel the demoliſhers.

M. La Fayette having heard that the work of deſtruction was begun, and the troops paſſive, repaired to Vincennes, expoſtulated with the ſoldiers, and brought them to a ſenſe of their duty.

He then ordered them to attack the rabble without firing on them. Sixty were ſeized, and the reſt diſperſed. Many of them ran to the fauxbourg St. Antoine to excite the populace to releaſe the priſoners. The General being told that it would be dangerous to march through that quarter of Paris,

as the people were in insurrection, placed the prisoners in the middle, some field pieces in front, and marched his troops, with some municipal officers at the head of the column, directly through the suburbs to the Town-house; and while the mob insulted his troops with their exclamations, and even wounded one of his aides-de-camp and some of the soldiers by throwing stones, he lodged the prisoners in the Conciergerie without farther bloodshed.

That very morning a man had been observed loitering in the palace of the Tuileries near the King's apartment; which had roused the suspicions of some of the attendants, who had him seized and carried before the Mayor. This occasioned a great deal of noise, and, as usual, was exaggerated with many circumstances unfounded in truth: among others, that concealed weapons had been found on him, particularly

a dagger

a dagger or poniard of uncommon and rancorous conſtruction.

When this perſon had been repreſented all over Paris as a deſperate aſſaſſin, and the dreadful make of his poniard deſcribed by many who pretended they had ſeen it, his examination before the Mayor rendered it evident that he was a gentleman of an excellent character, called M. Court de la Tonnelle, who had buſineſs with ſome one belonging to the Palace, where he had frequently been; and that his concealed poniard was a couteau de chaſſe, much in faſhion, which he wore *openly* hanging from his belt. This account of the matter travelled very ſlowly in compariſon of the other; and did not prevent a number of gentlemen from immediately repairing to the Tuileries, armed with ſwords and piſtols; all declaring that, having heard that his Majeſty's life was in danger, they came with

with the loyal reſolution of expoſing their own lives in defence of his.

When M. La Fayette returned from his expedition to Vincennes, he was informed that there had been a great diſturbance at the Tuileries; and that the apartments were filled with ſeveral hundred armed men, who had been admitted, at a private door, by the Firſt Gentleman of the King's Bed-Chamber, and unknown to the National Guards on duty at the palace.

The General expreſſed his diſapprobation of this meaſure in ſharp terms, declaring that he could not be anſwerable for the King's ſafety, if any thing ſimilar happened again. The King himſelf is ſaid to have blamed the indiſcreet zeal of thoſe gentlemen; and, to ſatisfy the National Guards, who were peculiarly irritated at men who pretended to interfere with them in a point which was their particular buſineſs, he permitted

mitted that the intruders ſhould be diſarmed and diſmiſſed.

This ceremony was performed a little roughly by the National Guards—to the great diſpleaſure of many, who thought ſuch treatment an ungrateful return for the zeal the gentlemen had manifeſted; while others aſſerted that this pretended zeal was a mere affectation of loyalty, when the danger, if ever there had been any, muſt have been known to be paſſed; and as ſome of thoſe volunteers were unknown to the Nobleſſe themſelves, or known to be roturiers, they were conſidered by them as highly impertinent, in diſplaying an attachment to the King's perſon which their birth gave them no right to—Like the poor woman who, when the famous Ducheſs of Longueville, ſiſter to the great Condé, was dangerouſly ill, came bathed in tears, and with every mark of ſorrow begged to know how the

Ducheſs

Ducheſs did; but the Ducheſs's favourite maid, being filled with indignation at the preſumptuous grief of the woman, thruſt her out of doors, telling her, "that it was the height of aſſurance in a low creature like her to be afflicted, or at all concerned, for the ill health of a Princeſs."

In permitting thoſe to be diſarmed who had haſtened to the palace on the firſt rumour of an aſſaſſin having been diſcovered, it is evident that the King yielded to what he could not prevent; for, whether their aſſembling in the palace was indiſcreet or not, their intention apparently was to be of ſervice to him; and it was only to ſpare their delicacy, and to prevent their refuſing to deliver up their arms at the requiſition of the National Guards, and the miſchief which muſt have enſued, that the King had interfered, and deſired the arms to be delivered up, which was done on the aſſurance of their being afterwards reſtored to the owners—

notwithſtanding which, ſome of the ſwords were broken in the King's ſight; and this aſſembling at the palace was ſo malicioufly miſrepreſented, that it became dangerous in a very ſhort time to claim thoſe that remained; and ſuch was the induſtry of faction, that an incident which derived its ſource from the anxiety of ſome individuals for the King's ſafety was entirely turned to his prejudice. It was even aſſerted, "that thoſe perſons who had aſſembled at the Tuileries, on the pretext of defending the perſon of the King, were armed with the ſame kind of poniard that had been found on the man firſt ſeized; that they were all decided ariſtocrates, united in a conſpiracy to take the firſt opportunity of carrying off the King and Royal Family; that hearing of M. La Fayette's marching with ſuch a body of the National Guards to Vincennes, they had hopes of putting their ſcheme in execution during his abſence; but had been

diſappointed

diſappointed by the alertneſs of the national troops who were on duty at the palace, who had refuſed to quit their poſt on that memorable day, and had continued to do their duty with the party who came to relieve them until the General returned from Vincennes."

As this conſtruction was not very probable in itſelf, and was ſupported by no evidence whatever, it was thought neceſſary to give it credibility by a new kind of teſtimony. A number of prints were engraved, repreſenting a poniard with hooks and angles on one ſide, for tearing and torturing in withdrawing the inſtrument after having uſed it in ſtabbing. Along with the print was an inſcription, indicating that this was a true and faithful repreſentation of the poniard found on the aſſaſſin ſeized in the palace, and on many of the ariſtocrates who had alſo been ſeized and diſarmed by the National Guards on the ſame

evening. And from this time all the Nobleſſe and others, who went regularly to the Tuileries to pay their duty to the King or any of the Royal Family, were denominated by the populace *Chevaliers du Poignard*. In this manner a jealouſy of the King, and a prejudice againſt all who ſhewed a particular attachment to him, was kept up in the minds of the Pariſian populace.

Lewis XVI. had always been of a pious turn of mind; and the general tenor of his life, unlike that of his grandfather, was not in oppoſition to the religion which he profeſſed.

Religious impreſſions, it is likely, were felt by him with augmented ſenſibility on account of the troubles and dangers with which he and his family were ſurrounded.

Numbers of eccleſiaſtics frequented the Palais of the Tuileries—it was ſaid that thoſe who had refuſed to take the oaths decreed by the National Aſſembly were received

ceived with greater ſigns of cordiality than the others.

If it was impolitic in the King to *ſhew* any predilection for the former, it was nevertheleſs very natural for him to *feel* it. It would probably ariſe from a ſentiment of compaſſion mixed with eſteem for men who had been deprived of their benefices for no other reaſon than that they choſe to obey the dictates of conſcience rather than thoſe of intereſt.

It is poſſible that ſome of the clergy who took the oath may have acted as conſcientiouſly as the others; but when one ſet of men ſacrifice their fortune rather than do what is required of them, and another ſet make their fortune by doing it, the world generally admire and honour the former more than the latter.

It was not ſo in this inſtance: the violent ſpirit of party and political faction deſtroys every ſentiment of candour. The men who

gave the ſtrongeſt proof that men can give, of being directed by conſcience and integrity, became the objects of popular execration, and thoſe who might have been ſo naturally ſuſpected of acting from baſe and ſordid motives were regarded as patriots. The preference which the King was ſaid to give to the former was made uſe of by factious men as a cauſe of clamour, and was repreſented to the people as a proof of his being an enemy to the Conſtitution.

The King had formed the deſign of paſſing the Eaſter holidays at St. Cloud. He wiſhed to be ſomewhat removed from the noiſe and tumult of the capital, while he was engaged in the duties of religion.

The Monarch's intentions were no ſooner known, than rumours were ſpread with great aſſiduity, that he wiſhed to go to St. Cloud, that he might have the ſacrament adminiſtered by unconſtitutional prieſts, and that he

might arrange matters for withdrawing to a greater diſtance from the capital, and raiſing a civil war; or perhaps in the view of leaving the kingdom, and ſtirring up his brother Kings to make war againſt France.

Particular pains were taken to infuſe theſe notions into the National Guards.

Early on the morning of the 18th of April, a paper was poſted on the walls of the Palais Royal by orders from the Club des Cordeliers, which was at this time chiefly under the influence of Danton, and of which Marat was a member. In this paper was a direct accuſation of the King of having broken the laws he had ſworn to maintain—of encouraging the unconſtitutional prieſts to ſtir up a civil war, and preparing to go with his family to join the foreign enemy. This accuſation was ſigned VINCENT, Greffier, and openly avowed by the Club.

Great numbers of the populace crowded from all quarters to the Carouſel and Tui-

leries. The King's carriages however were ordered, the National Guards on duty there were under arms, and the King, the Queen, the Dauphin and the Princeſs Elizabeth, went into the coach at eleven o'clock; which they had no ſooner done than the ſurrounding populace began to exclaim and make an outcry in the moſt inſulting and threatening manner: but as they were ſurrounded with numerous detachments of the National Guards, diſregarding the inſolence of the multitude, the King ordered the poſtillions to drive on; on which, inſtead of keeping off the crowd, the guards cloſed before the horſes, threatened the poſtillions if they ſhould dare to proceed, and ſwore they would not permit the Royal Family to leave Paris. The King's domeſtic ſervants, and thoſe immediately attached to his perſon, were in the mean time abuſed, maltreated, and dragged from the carriages, about which they had preſſed with a view to cover the

Royal

Royal Family from the inſults of the rabble. One Gentleman of the Bedchamber having been ſeized by them at the very window of the coach, the King ſtretched forth his arm, and endeavoured to retain him; but the gentleman was much abuſed, and dragged away notwithſtanding.

The Queen's Maître d'Hotel was in danger of being actually killed by a group of the rabble. He was reſcued from their violence by the efforts of certain citizens, who knew and eſteemed the man, and with difficulty carried him into the guard-room.

The King had the mortification to hear the moſt inſulting and abuſive expreſſions directed againſt the Queen. One man in the uniform of the National Guards, approaching the carriage and addreſſing the King himſelf, told him that he infringed the law by countenancing prieſts who had not taken the conſtitutional oaths; " et parce qu'il

qu'il ſouffroit qu'ils vinſſent dire la meſſe dans la chapelle de ſon chateau." "Malheureux! retirez-vous," ſaid the King; "qui vous a établi juge de ma conſcience *?"

The groſs inſults offered to the Royal Family, and particularly to the female part of it, were not confined to the loweſt rabble. Some citizens of ſuperior rank joined in them. The inhabitants of Paris have been generally accounted the moſt poliſhed and polite citizens in Europe; and the idea *was* well founded: but in matters which deeply affect the intereſt, and ſtrongly agitate the paſſions, to expect protection from politeneſs is to rely on a ſhield of gilded paper as a defence from cannon balls.

M. Bailly, the Mayor, haſtened to the Tuileries to ſuppreſs the diſorder; but he

* And becauſe he allowed them to perform maſs in the chapel of the palace.

Who made you judge of my conſcience, fellow?

was

was not liſtened to. M. La Fayette ordered the National Guards to open to the right and left, to clear away the multitude, and allow the King's coach to paſs. He was not obeyed.

After having been more than three hours in the coach, expoſed to the inſults and deriſion of the multitude and of the mutinous ſoldiery, the King and Royal Family were under the neceſſity of getting out of the carriage, and walking to the Palace, amidſt the groans, hootings, and hiſſings of the multitude. We find the following expreſſion in Shakeſpeare:

> Such a divinity doth hedge in Kings,
> That treaſon doth but peep to what it would.

As the utmoſt extent of the treaſon in the preſent inſtance was to inſult the King and prevent his going to St. Cloud, it cannot be ſaid to have peeped, but to have advanced with broad-faced impudence to its purpoſe, and effected all at that time intended.

That

That the appearance of the Sovereign generally ſtrikes the beholders with more awe than that of any other individual is true; but as this depends entirely on his power, and as he will ſtrike more awe (for the word implies ſome degree of fear) the more cruelly he exerciſes his power, it ought not to be mentioned as part of his panegyric. We know that a mild and benevolent Sovereign may be beheld by the pooreſt of his ſubjects with reſpect unmixed with a ſingle particle of awe; and ſuch monſters as Roberſpierre and Carrier ſtruck as much awe as any King, Emperor, or Sultan, that ever lived. At one period it was in ſome meaſure believed, that a peculiar air of majeſty always accompanied the actions and ſacred perſons of Kings, which, independent of guards and ermine, impoſed ſentiments of reſpect, and diſtinguiſhed them from the general race of mankind. The actreſs who firſt played the part of Berenice

in

in Racine's tragedy had no ſooner pronounced theſe lines,

Qu'en quelque obſcurité que le ciel l'eût fait naître,
Le monde en le voyant eût reconnu ſon maître,

than the audience applied them to Lewis XIV, and all France thought the application juſt.

Some people have imagined that this ſuppoſed air of majeſty is the *divinity* to which Shakeſpeare alludes; but from his putting the obſervation in the mouth of ſo worthleſs a character as the uſurper of the throne of Denmark, it is more probable that he meant to expoſe the folly of ſuch an idea. That great maſter drew directly from nature. The only crowned heads he ever had an opportunity of ſeeing were Elizabeth and James. The firſt was more diſtinguiſhed by the firm and awful texture of her mind than by the majeſty of her perſon. As for her ſucceſſor, though he was continually harping on the divine majeſty of Kings,

yet

yet few ever had leſs majeſty of any kind either in mind or perſon.

It happened unluckily for the honour of Scotland, that though in the long race of her Kings, ſome were in all reſpects great men, ſome accompliſhed gentlemen, and moſt of them hardy and intrepid warriors, yet he who ſucceeded to the crown of England was devoid of all thoſe qualities.

If Lewis XVI. had not formed any deſign of withdrawing from France, or at leaſt to a conſiderable diſtance from the capital, previous to this period, it is natural to believe that he ſhould begin to think of it after the unworthy and horrible treatment above deſcribed. It may, however, have been ſuggeſted to him, that this treatment had entirely proceeded from the vileſt and moſt abandoned of the populace, and a detachment of the National Guards corrupted by a few traitors, who would be detected and puniſhed by the National Aſſembly, and

the

the honour of the Nation vindicated to the ſatisfaction of all good ſubjects.

On the 19th, therefore, the King went to the National Aſſembly, and, in a diſcourſe of ſome length, complained of the reſiſtance which had been made the preceding day to his going to St. Cloud. "I did not chooſe," added the unhappy Monarch, "to repel that reſiſtance by force, which might have proved fatal to a multitude who, being miſled, imagine they are acting in ſupport of law when they are infringing it; but it is of importance to the Nation to prove that I am a free agent. Nothing can be more eſſential to give authority to the ſanctions which I have granted to your decrees. On that account, therefore, I perſiſt in my reſolution of going to St. Cloud; and the National Aſſembly muſt be convinced of the propriety of my ſo doing."

The Aſſembly applauded the King's ſpeech; but, inſtead of taking meaſures to

puniſh

puniſh the ſeditious, and to make it manifeſt that he was not a priſoner, they immediately paſſed to the order of the day; and the King, in ſpite of his reſolution, did no longer perſiſt in his journey to St. Cloud.

It cannot be ſuppoſed but that the majority of the Aſſembly were well diſpoſed to have paid more attention to the King's ſpeech. They thought, however, in the preſent diſpoſition of the ſections of Paris, who were to meet that ſame night, that any decree againſt the ſeditious ran a riſk of not being obeyed; and ſome of the Deputies who had rejoiced at their ſittings being transferred to Paris, merely for the pleaſure of more ample applauſe and more agreeable ſociety, were now convinced that they were likely to pay too high a price for thoſe gratifications.

In the mean time great pains were taken to perſuade the people, that the accuſation of the Cordeliers was true, and that the

King's intention was not to have remained at St. Cloud, but to have proceeded to Compiegne; and that poſt-horſes were placed at proper diſtances on the road to carry him and his family thither.

On this aſſertion, which was without foundation, the King's conduct was commented on in the ſevereſt terms; and his inferred hypocriſy and treachery were held up to popular execration in journals and hand-bills, while the moſt ſeditious and treaſonable language was ſpoken with impunity in the groups of the garden of the Palais Royal. One fellow repeated the following maxims in various groups on the 19th and 20th, and was heard with applauſe as often as he repeated them: "Un Roi eſt un perſonnage inutile, un ogre qui dévore trente millions par an *."

And as impiety and treaſon have gone

* A King is a very uſeleſs perſonage—a monſter who devours thirty millions of livres annually.

hand in hand in France ſince the beginning of the Revolution, another orator having aſſured the circle which ſurrounded him that the King had received the Sacrament that very morning from a nonjuring Prieſt, one of the audience added, that "he ought to be obliged to go to the pariſh church, and take the Sacrament over again from a conſtitutional one. "S'il a mangé un bon Dieu chez lui," ſaid the wretch, "il en mangera bien deux; il eſt gourmand."

Beſides the emiſſaries who were diſperſed to all places of public reſort, to circulate calumnies againſt the Court, and the motion-makers (les motionnaires) that took their ſtations in the Palais Royal, there was a ſociety at this time called Société Fraternelle, which met in the Church of the Jacobins near the famous club of Jacobins, of which this Société Fraternelle was an emanation of the moſt virulent and inflammable portion; and from it there daily

iſſued

iſſued libels and ſatires without number, all calculated to irritate the people againſt the King, his family, and miniſters.

To ſhew to what a height ſedition was carried at this time, it is only neceſſary to give a few extracts from periodical papers, publiſhed and avowed by their writers. What follows is from a paper entitled "L'Orateur du Peuple."

"Courage, braves Pariſiens! Encore un pas, et la victoire eſt à vous. Le Roi fuyoit, et vous lui avez ordonné de reſter dans la capitale. Le peuple a coupé les courrois de ſes chevaux. La Fayette a vainement caracollé, peroré; grimaces qui ne prennent plus: il a été hué. Bailly de même. Songez que, ſi le Roi quitte la France, il n'y a pas de doute qu'il ne ſoit déchu du trône, et immolé lui et le dernier rejetton de ſa race à la juſte fureur d'une grande Nation! Mais il vous en coutera peut-être dix années de combats, et la perte de

trois millions de vos concitoyens, avant de faire triompher votre liberté.

" Mottié a demandé que le département s'aſſemblat. Il a eu le front d'y paroître, et a voulu qu'on l'autoriſât à faire feu ſur le peuple. Le directoire penchoit pour ce parti ; mais Danton étoit là ! Il a pulveriſé, de la foudre de ſon éloquence populaire, la demande des Sieurs Bailly et Mottié.

" Louis XVI, aujourd'hui encore Roi des Français ! arrête. Où cours-tu, Monarque, abuſé par des conſeils perfides ? As-tu bien peſé les ſuites de ce départ, l'ouvrage de ta femme ? Le peuple ignore-t-il que de St. Cloud tu te diſpoſes à partir pour Compiegne, et de-là pour la frontière ? Ne ſavons-nous pas que la bouche des Rois fut toujours l'antre du menſonge ? Une furie te pouſſe dans le précipice ! Elle t'a inoculé ſa rage contre les Français.

" Eh bien ! Si tu pars, nous ne voyons plus en toi que Tarquin chaſſé de Rome !

Nous

Nous faiſiſſons tes chateaux, tes palais, ta liſte civile. Nous proſcrirons ta tête. Que les Porſenna s'avancent ! les Scævola ſont prêts*."

At

* Courage, brave Pariſians ! One effort more, and the victory will be yours. The King was about to fly, and you have ordered him to remain in the capital. The people have cut the harneſs of his horſes. La Fayette has harangued and capered, and made grimaces, without effect : he was hiſſed. The ſame has happened to Bailly. Remember that, if the King quits France, there can be no doubt of his being dethroned, and he with his whole race ſacrificed to the juſt fury of a great nation. But perhaps it will coſt France a ten years ſtruggle and three millions of inhabitants before liberty ſhall completely triumph.

Mottié required that the department ſhould be aſſembled. He had the effrontery to appear there, and deſired that he might be authoriſed to fire on the people. Some leaned to that meaſure ; but Danton was preſent, and, with the thunder of popular eloquence, blaſted the hopes of Bailly and Mottié.

Lewis XVI, ſtill King of the French, ſtop. Whither do you run, abuſed by perfidious counſels ? Have

At this period Danton had the greateſt influence in the ſociety of Cordeliers, who held their meetings in the church of that order. He was not a member of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, but confidentially connected with Roberſpierre who was. The Cordeliers were conſidered as more patriotic, or, in the ſenſe in which that word was underſtood, more furious againſt the Court, the Nobleſſe, and the non-juring Clergy than the Jacobins themſelves.

you well weighed the conſequences of that journey, to which you are prompted by your wife? Do you think that the people are ignorant that from St. Cloud you intend to proceed to Compiegne, and from thence to the frontiers? Do not we know that the mouth of Kings always was the cavern of falſehood? A fury puſhes you down the precipice; ſhe has inoculated you with her rage againſt the French nation.

Well, if you do go, we will conſider you as a Tarquin driven from Rome. We will ſeize on your caſtles and palaces and civil liſt; we will proſcribe your head. Let the Porſennas advance; the Scævolas are ready.

Marat was alſo one of the luminaries of the Club of Cordeliers. His powers for public ſpeaking and his influence in the ſocieties were inferior to thoſe of Danton; but as nothing could ſurpaſs the intrepidity of Marat, as he affected the dreſs, manners, and language of the loweſt people, called himſelf their friend, and wrote a Journal in which he abuſed the rich and flattered the poor, he had more influence with the mob than Danton or any body elſe. In this Journal, to which he always put his name, he uſed a ſtyle of language which certainly was never before avowedly uſed to any living King or any Miniſter actually in place.

In the bright æra of the Grecian republics, a love of liberty was the moſt diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of a refined people. The reſt of the world, to whom liberty was unknown, were barbarians. Many incidents in the courſe of the French Revolution ſeem to exhibit an effect preciſely the

reverſe—a refined people becoming barbarians from a paſſion for liberty. This affords a pretext for thoſe who are not lovers of freedom, becauſe they fatten on the wages of ſervility, to repreſent Liberty herſelf, not as the virtuous Addiſon has done,

- - - - - - - a Goddeſs heavenly bright,
Profuſe of bliſs and pregnant with delight,

but as a malignant enchantreſs who turns men into brutes. Let it be always remembered, however, that the vices of the votaries do not alter the virtues of the ſaint. Whatever wickedneſs men may commit, from a pretended or perverted paſſion for freedom, genuine liberty is as valuable, and will be as much valued by men of ſpirit and diſcernment, as ever. The crime of Tarquin did not injure the virtuous character of Lucretia.

The following extracts will give the reader an idea of Marat's manner. They

are

are taken from one of his Journals, entitled

Addreſſe de Jean-Baptiſte Marat, l'Ami du Peuple, à Louis XVI. Roi des Français.

" SIRE,

" Né ſimple citoyen, peut-être meriteriez-vous d'être cru ſur votre parole ; mais né ſur le trône, avec tous les vices de votre éducation, et avec trente-ſix ans écoulés au milieu de la cour la plus corrompue de l'Europe, ſans ceſſe flagorné par les bas valets qui vous environnent, pouſſé aux crimes par des Miniſtres atroces, ou de perfides courtiſans, et continuellement entraîné dans la revolte contre vos devoirs par votre famille, quelle confiance pourriez-vous inſpirer dans vos proteſtations d'attachement et de fidélité à la patrie ?

" Que vos agens venaux applaudiſſent à de pareils témoignages ; que vos crédules concitoyens faſſent chorus bêtement, cela eſt

dans

dans l'ordre; mais ne vous flattez pas de donner le change aux patriotes clairvoyans.

" Parlez—quelle confiance pourrions-nous avoir dans la parole, dans les ſermens d'un Roi qui n'avoit aſſemblé la Nation que pour l'engager à combler l'abîme creuſé par les dilapidations de ſes Miniſtres, des Princes de ſa Maiſon, de ſes favoris et des autres fripons de ſa cour; d'un Roi qui eſſaya de diſſoudre l'Aſſemblée Nationale dès qu'il trouva quelque réſiſtance à ſes volontés; d'un Roi qui travailla ſix ſemaines à l'exécution de l'infernal projet de mettre la capitale à feu et à ſang, pour punir ſes habitans de l'appui généreux qu'ils ſembloient promettre aux Repréſentans de la Nation contre les attentats du deſpotiſme?

" Soyez donc votre propre juge, et dites-nous ſi un tel Roi mérite d'autres noms que ceux d'automate ſtupide, ou de perfide trompeur. Sire, vous êtes l'ami de la liberté, comme votre épouſe eſt l'amie des

Français.

Français. En vous rendant le docile organe de leurs impoſtures, vos Miniſtres ont fait leur métier ordinaire ; en dévoilant ces impoſtures aux yeux indignés du public, je remplis le plus ſaint des devoirs *."

So

* Had you been born a plain citizen, perhaps you might have been believed on your word ; but, born the heir of a crown, with all the vices of your education, and after having ſpent ſix-and-thirty years in the moſt corrupt Court in Europe, everlaſtingly flattered by the ſycophants who ſurround you, puſhed to vice by monſters of wickedneſs and perfidious courtiers, and continually ſeduced from your duty by thoſe belonging to your family—what confidence can be given to your proteſtations of attachment and fidelity to the country ?

Let your venal creatures applaud ſuch proteſtations, and the credulous citizens fooliſhly join in the chorus. That was to be expected : but do not flatter yourſelf with the hopes of deceiving the penetrating eyes of true patriots.

Speak—what confidence could we put in the word or oath of a King, who aſſembled the States-General for

no

So many men have affected to act from patriotic diſintereſted motives, whoſe ſubſequent conduct has proved that they had been guided by the moſt ſordid views of ſelf-intereſt, that ſome people are tempted to be-

no other purpoſe but to complete the miſchief occaſioned by the extravagance of his miniſters, his favourites, and the other knaves of his court; of a King who wiſhed to diſſolve the National Aſſembly, as ſoon as it ſhewed ſome reſiſtance to his will; of a King who perſiſted for ſix weeks in the infernal project of attacking the capital with fire and ſword, to puniſh the inhabitants for the generous ſupport they were inclined to give to the National Repreſentatives againſt the encroachments of deſpotiſm? Be your own judge, and declare whether ſuch a King deſerves to be conſidered in any other light than that of a paſſive tool or a perfidious deceiver. Sire, you are juſt ſuch a friend to liberty as your ſpouſe is a friend to the French Nation.

In rendering you the tame organ of their impoſitions, your Miniſters have acted in character. In unmaſking theſe impoſtures to the indignant eyes of the public, I fulfil the moſt ſacred of my duties.

lieve that no ſuch ſentiment as that of diſintereſted patriotiſm now exiſts in the world. But if there were no ſuch feeling, there would be no ſuch pretence: people would not affect what does not exiſt in nature. Thoſe who uſe arguments founded on virtue and patriotiſm, without excepting even this wretch Marat, muſt at ſome period of their lives have felt ſentiments of that kind, and muſt believe that they ſtill exiſt in the breaſts of their auditors; otherwiſe they would not expect to influence by them.

Such language as Marat on this and on other occaſions addreſſed to ſo mild a Prince as Louis XVI. is ſtill more revolting to a candid mind, and leſs applicable than the hyperbolical praiſes beſtowed by Boileau and other poets of his time on Lewis XIV, though Heaven knows the latter are ſufficiently revolting and inapplicable.

Jeune

Jeune et vaillant héros, dont la haute ſageſſe
N'eſt point le fruit tardif d'une lente vieilleſſe,
Et qui ſeul, ſans Miniſtre, à l'exemple des Dieux,
Soutiens tout par toi-même, et vois tout par tes yeux.

Quand je vois ta ſageſſe, en ſes juſtes projets,
D'une heureuſe abondance enrichir tes ſujets—&c. &c.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXIII.

Obſervations on the different Conduct of Men to Monarchs in Proſperity and in Adverſity —The Indignation formerly manifeſted by the French Nation againſt the Engliſh for their Conduct towards their Kings—Supposed Dialogue between Lewis XIV. and one of his Courtiers—All Attempts to alter Men's Opinions vain—Anecdote of one of the Chevalier St. Méard's Judges—A Republican Government often tyrannical—Britiſh Houſe of Peers—Reflections—Raſh Decrees of the Legiſlative Aſſembly—The French Nation no way intereſted in eſtabliſhing a Republic in England or other Countries.

IT is an old obſervation, and what might be of uſe to Sovereigns in eſtimating the ſincerity of the attachment of thoſe around their perſons, that the ſame diſpoſition which

which renders men obſequious to proſperity and ſervile to power, is apt to make them neglectful of the unfortunate and inſolent to the weak. No nation ever puſhed both extremes farther than the French in their behaviour to their Kings in theſe oppoſite ſituations; and in both caſes they have been very laviſh in their endeavours to throw ridicule and abuſe on their neighbours for not following their example. At preſent they deride other nations for their attachment to monarchy. Formerly, when they themſelves diſplayed more abject ſervility to their Kings than any other European nation, they deſcribed the Engliſh as barbarians for reſiſting the tyranny of the houſe of Stuart, and for claiming freedom. Warm in the cauſe of depreſſed royalty, they exclaimed againſt the inſolence of a people who thought they had a right to make any alteration in their government. If France and other countries of Europe had not been

diſtracted

diſtracted with internal as well as external commotions in the time of Charles I. they would all have ſupported the cauſe of the Monarch againſt the People of England for attempting to regulate their own government, and with a view to extirpate thoſe ideas of freedom which began to ſpread at that time. Lewis XIV. was excited not only by his own inclination but alſo by the wiſhes of his ſubjects to enter into a war with England, on purpoſe to puniſh the Nation for the crime they had committed againſt the King, and to reſtore the monarchy. Boileau wrote an ode expreſsly againſt this nation, of which the following are two ſtanzas:

Quoi! ce Peuple aveugle en ſon crime,
Qui prennant ſon Roi pour victime,
Fit du trône un théatre affreux,
Penſe-t-il que le Ciel, complice
D'un ſi funeſte ſacrifice,
N'a pour lui ni foudre ni feux?

Armes-toi, France, prends la foudre,
C'eſt à toi de réduire en poudre
Ces ſanglans ennemis des loix.
Suis la Victoire qui t'appelle,
Et vas ſur ce peuple rebelle
Venger la querelle des Rois.

If the Reſtoration had not taken place, there is little reaſon to doubt but that the Monarch would have followed the poet's advice. Indeed he proved this by ſeizing the firſt pretext that occurred for *graſping the thunder* in the cauſe of Kings, in acknowledging the ſon of James II. as Prince of Wales, contrary to the Act of Settlement of the Engliſh Parliament, and contrary to the opinion of his own Council.

That ſome ſuch dialogue as the following might paſs between Lewis and ſome of his Courtiers on that occaſion, is a ſuppoſition not inconſiſtent with the character of that Prince and the ſentiments of his Court.

LEWIS.

LEWIS. Notwithſtanding that Beauvilliers, De Torci, and others of my Council, were againſt the meaſure, I have acknowledged the ſon of James II. as King of Great Britain and Ireland; and I am determined to re-eſtabliſh him on the throne of his anceſtors, in ſpite of the decrees of his rebellious ſubjects in Parliament aſſembled.

COURTIER. The determination is magnanimous, and worthy of ſo great a Monarch. It is at once juſt and politic; for the ſhocking manner in which that ungovernable people have treated their Kings is a moſt alarming example to all the Sovereigns of Europe, and it would be dangerous to allow it to remain any longer unpuniſhed.

LEWIS. The cauſe of Kings is the cauſe of Heaven, by whoſe appointment Kings reign; and the vengeance of Heaven evidently followed all thoſe wretches who re-

ſiſted the power of Charles I. in that iſland, as well as thoſe who afterwards brought him to the ſcaffold. I have been aſſured that all of them died violent deaths. You perhaps remember the particulars.

COURTIER. The avenging power of Heaven was never more apparent, as your Majeſty piouſly obſerves, than in the deaths of all who directly or indirectly contributed to that bleſſed King's murder. Hampden was killed in the very act of rebellion. Pym died of a horrid diſeaſe, particularly commiſſioned to cut him off. The ſoul of Cromwell was carried to hell in a ſtorm. The regicides and others had their hearts and bowels torn out on the ſcaffold. Thoſe of the King's Judges who fled out of England were privately put to death in other countries by the laudable reſentment of the King's relations. Sydney, the republican, who had taken part in the rebellion againſt Charles I. was executed for a plot againſt

his ſon. Ruſſel, who, to the diſgrace of the noble family to which he belonged, was for limiting the power of the Crown ſo as to render it unſupportable to a Prince of ſpirit, and had the inſolence to promote a bill for excluding the lawful heir becauſe he profeſſed the true religion, was juſtly beheaded; and Eſſex, who was engaged in the ſame conſpiracy with Sydney and Ruſſel, either cut his own throat or had it cut by others: for in either caſe your Majeſty's obſervation is confirmed, that the vengeance of Heaven in one way or another extends to all thoſe daring wretches who oppoſe the authority of their Sovereign on any pretext whatever, as Kings are not accountable for the exerciſe of the power which God has given them, to any but to God alone.

LEWIS. It is ſingular, however, that in placing the Prince of Orange on their throne, the Engliſh have not conſigned that degree of power to him which naturally

ought to belong to a King. He is limited, I underſtand, in ſome reſpects according to the ſyſtem which Ruſſel wiſhed to have applied to the Duke of York.

COURTIER. Your Majeſty's remark is of infinite importance; for, in thus limiting the power of the Crown, the Engliſh nation have eſtabliſhed a precedent which may affect the other monarchies in Europe more than even the atrocious conduct of Cromwell; becauſe many men who would ſhrink from the very idea of the murder of their Sovereign, and are averſe to a republic, may nevertheleſs be ſo deluded, that they would agree to have the luſtre of the Crown diminiſhed by circumſcribing the power of the Prince who wears it. I am confident that your Majeſty will be ſo completely ſucceſsful in the juſt war that you intend to engage in againſt the Engliſh nation, or rather againſt the principles and government of that nation, as to expel the preſent uſurper, and

and re-eſtabliſh King James in the plenitude of royal power. But if, contrary to probability, *that* ſhould be found too difficult or too expenſive, and there were no more hopes for James, it would then perhaps be highly ſuitable to your Majeſty's wiſdom to aſſiſt William himſelf in obtaining that fullneſs of power over his ſubjects that becomes a King; that the dangerous and odious example of a limited monarchy may no longer ſhock the ſight of the Monarchs, and corrupt the hearts of the People, of every nation in Europe.

LEWIS. The name of the Prince of Orange has been always odious to me. I ſhall aſſiſt *him* in nothing: but I am reſolved that James ſhall be reſtored to the throne of England with all the power that was poſſeſſed by Henry VIII. and with the re-eſtabliſhment of the true religion which that apoſtate aboliſhed.

Accordingly Lewis made the attempt;

and we know that it was not till all his expenſive and ſanguinary efforts to overturn the government and change the opinions of the people of England had failed, and had nearly exhauſted the reſources and ſhaken the loyalty of his own ſubjects, that the Engliſh nation obtained peace, and were permitted to entertain their own opinions, and ſettle their government to their own taſte.

It may perhaps ſeem ſurpriſing that the people of one country ſhould have ever thought that the opinions or form of government of another country was any concern of theirs; but that ſuch an idea ſhould have prevailed in the middle or towards the end of the ſeventeenth century is not ſo ſurpriſing as it would be to find it exiſting at the end of the eighteenth. After the many bloody experiments which have been made with a view to alter men's opinions on religion, government, or indeed on any thing elſe,

elſe, by force, we might naturally imagine that the point would be given up. Philip II, with his tortures and his inquiſition, and his great generals and his diſciplined armies, could make nothing of it even againſt the ſmall country of Holland, which, ſmall as it is, has never failed to repel all invaders but thoſe ſhe had ſome inclination to receive. The mighty Lewis, after being prompted by his own vanity, the flattery of his poets, and the folly of his ſubjects, to graſp *la foudre*, on purpoſe to force the Britiſh nation to receive the King and the doctrine which he approved, was obliged to deſiſt when he found that the *lightning* ſcorched himſelf and his ſubjects more than his enemies.

Indeed it is not only clear, that all attempts to alter men's opinions by violent means fail in the deſired effect; but that they generally tend to rivet them more

firmly

firmly in their old ſentiments. The perſecutions of the heathens againſt the Chriſtians, and the Roman Catholics againſt the Proteſtants, ſufficiently prove this; and, if a more recent inſtance were neceſſary, the annals of tyranny could not afford a ſtronger than has been exhibited by the Clergy of France, whom no ſpecies of perfidious cruelty and perſecution has been able to ſhake in their opinions, or prevent their avowing the dictates of their conſcience. On the execrable ſecond of September 1792, in the garden of the Carmes at Paris, the venerable Archbiſhop of Arles ſaw the aſſaſſin raiſe his ſabre, and he received the repeated ſtrokes without ſhrinking, rather than ſeem to comply in the leaſt degree with decrees which he thought unjuſt and impious. The Biſhop of Beauvais and the Biſhop of Saintes, with near two hundred eccleſiaſtics of different denominations, were maſſacred on the ſame

day

day in the ſame garden, for no other crime than refuſing to diſavow their opinions.

It is not more true, that the uſual effect of perſecution or ill uſage on account of particular opinions is to make the perſecuted cling more cordially to them, and feel augmented averſion againſt thoſe of their perſecutors, than that kind and gentle treatment renders men open to argument, and diſpoſed to the renunciation of error the moment they are convinced that their opinions are erroneous. It is only ſince the Jews were treated with mildneſs, and particularly ſince they began to be careſſed and entertained by men of high rank in this country, that any of them could be convinced of their deluſion, perſuaded that the Meſſiah had already appeared in the world, and that ſome of their diſtinguiſhing ceremonies were no longer neceſſary. This obſervation ſtrikes the minds of ſome people ſo forcibly as to convince them, that creating

ing a few Jews, ſoon after their converſion to Chriſtianity, grandees of Spain, or peers of Great Britain, would do more to the abolition of circumciſion than all the racks of the Inquiſition.

Nothing revolts the ſpirit of man ſo much as to have any thing forced upon it; the very appearance of force makes it reject with diſguſt what it might have embraced ſpontaneouſly. He who even argues with a dictatorial air, indiſpoſes his hearers from admitting his inferences or adopting his opinions. A pretty certain way of ſpreading any particular way of thinking in a country, is for the government to threaten and endeavour to terrify thoſe who entertain it; it renders their own peculiar way of thinking dearer to them than it was before; it converts an opinion, which they might have changed, into a principle which it is a point of honour to maintain; and although it is dangerous for them to ſpeak their minds, yet they have

have an intereſt in making proſelytes which otherwiſe they would not have had, becauſe, by making many of their way of thinking, their danger will be removed.

It is the buſineſs of government to controul men's actions, not their opinions; and thoſe are recorded as the happieſt times, in which the moſt uncontrolled freedom was allowed to the declaration of opinion. *Rara temporum felicitate*, ſays the hiſtorian, *ubi ſentire quæ velis, et quæ ſentias dicere licet.* All the terrors of the tribunal of political inquiſition, or of the Ponte di Sopiri at Venice, cannot make one who thinks monarchy a preferable form of government to republicaniſm change his opinion; nor can all the thunder of the *ultima ratio regum* make a republican prefer monarchy. The utmoſt that ſeverities can do is to make hypocrites; it is impoſſible for them to make converts. Opinion, ſo far from being under the power of other men's will, is not under

a man's

a man's own; it is the offspring of his reaſon, of whatever force that reaſon may be, whether well or ill informed; and although it is often perverted by prejudice and influenced by ſituation, yet a man's real opinion is founded on what appears to him reaſonable at the time, and he cannot alter it until what appeared reaſonable appears to him the reverſe. Opinions therefore cannot juſtly be imputed to any man as crimes. This is ſo obvious, that even one of thoſe bloody judges who examined the Chevalier Saint-Méard, in the priſon of the Abbaye at Paris in September 1792, was ſenſible of it. When the intrepid Saint-Méard avowed himſelf a royaliſt, and an univerſal murmur aroſe from the bloody circle who heard him, "Ce n'eſt pas pour juger les opinions," ſaid the judge, "que nous ſommes ici, c'eſt pour en juger les réſultats*."

* It is not to judge of men's opinions that we are here, but to judge of their actions.

Had all thoſe who decided on the fate of the priſoners adhered to that maxim, there would have been no maſſacres.

Men may be royaliſts, thank Heaven! and yet friends to freedom; as they may be republicans, and yet abettors of tyranny.

Without alluding to the ſhocking deſpotiſm which governs the republic of France, let us throw our eyes on other republics.

What kind of friends has freedom in the Senate of Venice, or the Great Council of Bern?

If the ſame queſtion is aſked reſpecting the Britiſh Houſe of Peers, the anſwer will be different.

Freedom has never been without friends there.

Who were the principal authors of the revolution in the year 1688?

The wiſeſt men in the Houſe of Peers have been as ſincere ſupporters of the rights of the democratic part of the conſtitution,

as

as of their own; they well know, that upon it the public liberty is chiefly founded. And the wiſeſt members of the Houſe of Commons have ſupported the juſt rights of the Houſe of Peers; they well know, that certain members of that houſe had a principal hand in forming the Conſtitution, ſuch as it has been ſince the year 1688, and on ſome occaſions have had the honour of preſerving it ſince that period.

Although the royaliſts in Charles the Firſt's time were generally thought enemies to liberty, it was not univerſally the caſe: ſome were the friends of liberty *notwithſtanding* their being royaliſts, and ſome were royaliſts *becauſe* they were the ſincere friends of liberty—being fully perſuaded that her happieſt and moſt permanent reſidence in this iſland would always be under a limited monarchy. And although the republicans of the ſame period were generally thought friends to freedom, yet ſome aſſumed the

character

character and ſentiments of republicans, becauſe they wiſhed to eſtabliſh tyranny.

Men of the greateſt worth and virtue always have had, and always will have different ſpeculative opinions on thoſe two different forms of government; every man has a right to ſpeculate on government as on all other ſubjects, and while he confines himſelf to ſpeculation he is not the juſt object of puniſhment; but when from ſpeculation he proceeds to action the caſe is totally different. The peace of ſociety is not to be with impunity diſturbed with inſurrection, becauſe a few men prefer a different form of government to that under which they live. If therefore a portion of the ſubjects of a republic attempt by force to convert it into a monarchy, or if thoſe of a monarchy endeavour by the ſame means to overturn the conſtitution and form a republic; the men againſt whom ſuch actions are proved, become the juſt objects of puniſh-

ment; and by the laws of the mildeſt government, whether monarchical or republican, that ever exiſted, that puniſhment is death.

The raſh and intemperate nature of certain decrees of the National Convention ſoon after the tenth of Auguſt, diſcovered a diſpoſition to convert all the monarchies of Europe into republics; and the fooliſh anſwers made by ſome of their Preſidents to certain deputations from foreign countries, which appeared at the bar of the Convention, tended to ſtrengthen the ſame ſuſpicion.

That ſome inconſiderate and enthuſiaſtic men entertained ſuch an idea, is evident from the circumſtances juſt mentioned; but that the majority of the Convention could think ſuch a ſcheme practicable, or that it would be for the benefit of France, to put herſelf to expence or trouble to bring it about, if it were, ſeems highly improbable.

The French pretend that they have overturned monarchy in France, becauſe of the vices inherent in that kind of government, which enfeebled the ſtate and depreſſed the energy of the nation. They declare that, by being a republic, France has acquired triple ſtrength, and is capable of efforts far ſurpaſſing her power at any former period.

Without examining whether the effort ſhe has lately made, and the ſtrength ſhe has diſplayed, depend on her being a republic, or on other circumſtances, how is this opinion of the French to be reconciled with their endeavouring to inſpire the other nations of Europe, particularly thoſe with whom they are at war, with a deſire to adopt a republican form of government? Do they wiſh that their rivals and enemies ſhould acquire triple ſtrength alſo? If all the monarchies of Europe were converted into republics, then, according to the principles of the French themſelves, the great

ſuperiority they have acquired would be loſt, and their weight in the balance of Europe reduced to what it was before the Revolution.

It may be ſaid, that in endeavouring to overturn monarchies they are actuated by hatred to kings, and by private malevolence; but whatever indications of this kind may have appeared in moments of enthuſiaſm, it is impoſſible to imagine that the governors of a great nation can, for the gratification of a childiſh humour, perſiſt in a plan, which, according to their own principles, would, when accompliſhed, render their rivals more formidable. To act conformably to ſtate policy, and conſiſtent with their declarations reſpecting the ſource of their new acquired ſtrength; ſo far from ſpreading their opinions among other nations, or uſing any means of inducing them to adopt the maxims of their Convention, the French ought to lay a general embargo upon them,

and

and confine them within their own territories as valuable ſecrets, which ſecure their ſuperiority over monarchical ſtates, as completely as the uſe of fire-arms ſecured a ſuperiority to the Spaniards over the Mexicans. It ſeems highly probable that they have now at leaſt relinquiſhed the ſyſtem of republican cruſades, if they ever ſeriouſly entertained it, and have pretty generally adopted the principles of one of their countrywomen, who in converſation with an Engliſhman, who aſſerted that it would be abſolutely neceſſary for the French nation to reſtore monarchy before they could obtain peace, replied, "Monſieur, nous ne voulons plus de roi—c'eſt notre affaire, laiſſez nous tranquilles. Mais vous autres vous aimez les rois, à la bonne heure, prenez en une douzaine ſi vous voulez—on vous laiſſera tranquilles."

But if there is little reaſon to think that the French will ever take pains to ſpread their

political principles in this country, there is ſtill leſs reaſon to dread that either their principles or example will be adopted by the people of Great Britain, although the French had that intention: the incidents of the French revolution are ſufficient, and far more than ſufficient, to remove ſuch an idea from every worthy mind, however fond of genuine freedom. Can a national ſtrength that is acquired by the ſeizing of private property, be an object of envy to the citizens of a country where property is ſecure? Can the idea of provinces added to France, be a compenſation to thoſe French citizens whoſe fortunes have been torn from them to defray the expence of the conqueſt? Can any amount of ſucceſs againſt foreign enemies afford conſolation to thoſe who deplore the loſs of parents, of conſorts, of children, of friends or relations, by internal maſſacres?

As England can derive no benefit from the

the miſery of individuals in France, and certainly feels many inconveniencies from the augmented ſtrength of that nation, by whatever horrible means it has been augmented; aſſuredly it is her intereſt, independent of ten thouſand conſiderations ariſing from general humanity, that a ſafe and honourable peace were ſpeedily obtained, by which her own proſperity might be ſecured, and the wretched individuals of France might become more happy and leſs formidable. Let France retain the republican form of government ſhe ſeems ſo fond of, if ſhe chooſes; and let the inhabitants of this iſland ſeriouſly reflect on the two great attempts that have been made in Europe to turn a monarchy into a republic. The one took place in the middle of the laſt century, the other towards the end of this. England was the theatre of the firſt, France of the ſecond. After exhibiting a moſt ſanguinary ſpectacle to Europe, of four years continu-

ance, the firſt ended in the tyranny of Cromwell; the ſecond ſtill continues, ſpreading bloodſhed and diſmay through Europe, and rendering France the abode of wretchedneſs. Let the inhabitants of this iſland alſo remember, that monarchy was not reſtored to Great Britain by a combination of foreign powers, diſpleaſed forſooth at her having aſſumed a republican form of government. Rather than have admitted of ſuch inſolent interference, or reſtored monarchy at their command, ſhe would have remained a republic until this hour; but the free-born inhabitants of Great Britain, of their own free will and accord, without the leaſt regard or conſideration for the opinion or inclination of other ſtates, thought proper to re-eſtabliſh monarchy. And who can ſay what France left entirely to the freedom of her own choice might do? Is it unlikely that, haraſſed and diſguſted with ſo many internal convulſions, and retaining

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a due ſenſe of the abuſes of her ancient government, ſhe may, as ſoon as ſhe obtains breathing time, ſeek for permanent peace and proſperity in a monarchical form of government, equally free from the vices of the old ſyſtem and of the preſent? In the mean time it is devoutly to be wiſhed, that Great Britain will ever adhere to and ſupport the genuine ſpirit of her own free Conſtitution; and while ſhe expreſſes a juſt deteſtation of the democratic tyranny which has prevailed in France, that ſhe will ever maintain an equal averſion to the more regular and impoſing deſpotiſm of ſome of the powers combined againſt that unhappy country.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXIV.

The National Aſſembly avoid any Inquiry concerning the Inſults offered to the King—Strange Addreſs of the Department of Paris to the King—Cardinal of Montmorency and Biſhop of Senlis reſign their Offices—King's Chaplains diſmiſſed—The King hears Maſs performed by a Conſtitutional Prieſt on Eaſter-day—M. La Fayette reſigns his Command, and afterwards at the Entreaty of the Troops reſumes it—King's Declaration to Foreign Courts—It has a bad Effect—Done againſt the Opinion of M. Montmorin—Scheme concerted with the Emperor for re-eſtabliſhing the King's Authority.

WHEN the National Aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day on the King's complaint, it did not proceed from their

their being inſenſible to the inſult which had been offered to him, or from the majority being unwilling that the guilty ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed; but from their being perſuaded that, in the ſpirit to which the populace and the National Guards had been wrought up, any attempt to animadvert on the ſubject would expoſe the weakneſs of the Aſſembly, and perhaps prove dangerous to the Royal Family.

The Department of Paris had found it expedient to invite the Sections to meet on the evening of the day on which the King had been at the National Aſſembly; and the queſtion ſubmitted to their deliberation was, whether they ſhould addreſs him to fulfil his intention of going to St. Cloud, or return him thanks for having choſen to remain at Paris, that the public tranquillity might be no longer diſturbed.

As all the world knew that it was not from choice that the King had remained at

Paris,

Paris, this ſeemed an additional inſult; and at any rate nothing could be more indecent, and more humiliating both to the King and the National Aſſembly, than to ſubmit to the ſhopkeepers and tradeſmen of Paris ſuch a queſtion.

The majority of the Sections gave a wiſer anſwer than there was reaſon to expect, by declaring in general terms that there was no room for deliberating. But the Miniſters, and thoſe immediately about the King's perſon, were ſo terrified at the agitation which prevailed, and particularly at the aſſertion, which had been printed, and paſted on the walls, of meaſures having been prepared to tranſport the Royal Family from St. Cloud to Compiegne, that the King was adviſed to contradict that aſſertion in a letter to the Department of Paris, in which it was alſo deſired, that this contradiction ſhould be made public as ſoon as poſſible.

The Department accordingly ordered the

King's

King's declaration to be immediately publiſhed, and circulated at all places of public reſort. But declarations of a contrary tendency were alſo fixed upon the walls, and allowed to remain, while that of the King was in many places torn down by the populace as falſe.

The Club of Jacobins, that of the Cordeliers, and the Société Fraternelle, chiefly made up of the moſt wicked and worthleſs members of the former, perſevered with ſuch ſucceſs in agitating the populace, and in corrupting the minds of the National Guards, that the Department of Paris thought it expedient to preſent an addreſs to the King, expreſſing their concern at the favour he ſhewed to the non-juring Clergy, and others who were enemies of the Conſtitution, begging " that he would withdraw his countenance from all thoſe of whom the people were ſuſpicious; that he would announce by his Ambaſſadors at the different courts of Eu-

rope, that a glorious revolution had taken place in France, which he had cordially adopted; and that he was proud of being the King of a free people." The addreſs concluded with the expreſſion of a deſire, that the King would entruſt this annunciation of his ſentiments to Miniſters who were *not unworthy of truſt.*

In ſhort, the import of the addreſs was, that the King ſhould diſmiſs the ſervants he loved, and employ thoſe he hated; that he ſhould not receive the Sacrament from Prieſts whom he regarded on account of their piety, but from thoſe he deſpiſed for their irreligion; that he ſhould announce a ſeries of groſs falſehoods to all the Courts of Europe; and finally, that he ſhould change the Miniſters in whom he put truſt for others in whom he put none.

Theſe were ſtrange requeſts to be made to a King; eſpecially as they were not made by a foreign enemy at the gates of his capi-

tal

tal after a victory; but by thoſe who had the direction of his capital, and who called themſelves his loving ſubjects. Nothing can give a ſtronger idea of the wretched ſtate to which this unfortunate Monarch was reduced, than that it was thought neceſſary that they ſhould all, except the laſt, be immediately complied with.

To alleviate as much as was in their power the pain of ſuch a compliance, the Cardinal of Montmorency, Grand Aumônier, the Biſhop of Senlis, Premier Aumônier, M. de Villequier and M. Amedee de Duras, Principal Gentlemen of the King's Bedchamber, gave in their reſignations. All the eccleſiaſtics belonging to the King's chapel were diſmiſſed; and on the firſt Sunday after the addreſs of the Department, he went to the church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, and heard maſs performed by the new Prieſt on Eaſter-day.

Whatever uneaſineſs the others may have produced,

produced, it is probable that this laſt was a ſacrifice more repugnant to the King's conſcience than all the reſt; ſince he conſidered the ſacred rite as in ſome degree prophaned by the worthleſſneſs of the perſon who performed it: for there is no queſtion that the King had been taught to conſider all the eccleſiaſtics in that light who had taken the oaths.

Unfounded as ſuch an opinion may be, it is not ſo abſurd as to impute any thing criminal to men, becauſe they refuſed to take the oaths; and the outcry that was raiſed againſt them was as wicked as abſurd. The general accuſation of their being *réfractaires à la loi* was abſolutely falſe. The law exacted that they ſhould either take a particular oath, or reſign their benefices. They choſe the laſt. This is no breach of law: on the contrary, it is conforming to the law by chooſing one of two meaſures left to their option by the law; and, in affording

affording protection to men reduced to want by obeying the dictates of their conſcience the King obſerved the laws of humanity without violating thoſe of the Conſtitution.

The Conſtitution alſo left the free exerciſe of his religion to every individual. Meſſrs. Barnave, Rabaud de Saint-Etienne, and other Proteſtant members of the National Aſſembly, who had in compliance with the will of the majority voted for the civil conſtitution of the Clergy, were allowed, as well as every other perſon in France, the public exerciſe of their religion. It was never exacted of any of them to attend the Catholic worſhip adminiſtered by eccleſiaſtics who had taken the oaths. How cruel and arbitrary muſt it appear then to inſiſt upon the King's doing this, or to refuſe to him the freedom of worſhipping God in his private chapel in the manner moſt agreeable to his conſcience!—a freedom which the Conſtitution allowed to be uſed

publicly by every perſon in the kingdom without exception.

M. de la Fayette was ſo diſguſted at the ſhameful ſcene on the 18th of April, that he reſigned the command of the National Guards. It then appeared how much he was beloved by them. All the battalions aſſembled. They appointed deputations to the General, expreſſing ſorrow for their paſt conduct, and promiſing implicit obedience to his orders in future. They alſo ſent deputations to the Municipality and to the Department, entreating them to join in ſoliciting the General to reſume the command.

The hotel of La Fayette was filled with theſe deputations from the different battalions, from the time that he had given in his reſignation until the following morning at five o'clock. The ſtreet in which his houſe ſtood was crowded with the men, all waiting with impatience for the news of his

his having yielded to their entreaties; but finding that he ſtill refuſed, they went in crowds to the Town-houſe, and begged of the Municipality to uſe their influence with the General that he ſhould reſume the command. The Municipality, perceiving that citizens of all the ſections joined in this requeſt of the National Guards, declared that they would become reſponſible for the future obedience of the battalions, and entreated the General to yield to the deſire of his fellow-citizens.

M. La Fayette expreſſed a proper ſenſe of the honour done him; adding, that he would not preſume to give an immediate anſwer, but would the following day attend the Municipality at the Town-houſe, and there deliver to them his ſentiments.

M. La Fayette went accordingly at ten o'clock, and in the common hall, where he found all the repreſentatives of the Common Council, with deputies from all the battalions

of National Guards aſſembled, pronounced a diſcourſe equally diſtinguiſhed for modeſty and good ſenſe. He placed in a ſtrong point of view the horror which every enlightened citizen muſt have felt at beholding thoſe whoſe duty it is to ſupport the laws oppoſe their execution. He added that, if the capital, which was the cradle of the Revolution, inſtead of reſpecting and obeying the Executive Powers, ſhould beſiege them with tumults, and fatigue them with inſults, it would from being the honoured *example* become the *terror* of the French nation; that in the marks of regard with which his fellow-citizens had honoured him, too much attention had been paid to an individual, but not enough to the laws. "Dans les marques ſi touchantes d'affection que j'ai reçues," ſaid he, "on a beaucoup trop fait pour moi, on n'a pas aſſez fait pour la loi; je me ſuis convaincu, avec la plus tendre émotion, que mes camarades m'aimoient;

m'aimoient; je n'ai point encore ſu à quel point ils chériſſoient tous les principes ſur leſquels la liberté eſt fondée *." And he concluded by refuſing to reſume the command.

On this refuſal, and thoſe obſervations of M. La Fayette, it was reſolved, that each battalion ſhould aſſemble the following day, and make a declaration of their ſentiments on the ſubject pointed out in M. La Fayette's diſcourſe; which was done accordingly by all the different regiments; and in their declarations, inſtead of expreſſing attachment to their General, and wiſhes that he ſhould reſume the command, they ſpeak ſolely of their ſubmiſſion to Law,

* In the affecting marks of attachment I have received, too much regard is ſhewn to me, and too little to the laws. I am thoroughly convinced that my comrades love me; but I am ſtill to learn, how far they are attached to thoſe principles on which liberty is founded.

their zeal for the Conſtitution, and their reſolution to obey the Commander in Chief, without once mentioning M. La Fayette.

The Municipality having verified the declarations of the National Guards, of the Cannoniers, of the various companies of Chaſſeurs, and of the Cavalry, decreed, that the Mayor at the head of a deputation of eight Members of the Common Council ſhould wait on the General, and repreſent to him that it would endanger the State if he perſiſted in his firſt reſolution, and that the greateſt proof of patriotiſm he could give would be to reſume the command.

It was impoſſible to reſiſt longer—M. La Fayette thanked the Mayor and deputation in becoming terms; and the day following having reſumed the command, he expreſſed his ſenſe of the honour done him by the various corps; and being then on the parade

before

before the Town-houſe, he propoſed that they ſhould go in a body to the King, taking with them all of their comrades whom they might meet by the way, and expreſs their ſorrow and repentance for what was paſt, and renew to his Majeſty their declaration of allegiance.

This propoſal was directly adopted. M. La Fayette accompanied them to the Tuileries; addreſſed the King, in the name of all the National Guards, in the terms which had been agreed on; received a gracious reception and anſwer from the Monarch; and as ſoon as this was known, the troops expreſſed their ſatisfaction by repeated exclamations of "Vive le Roi! Vive le Reſtaurateur de la Liberté Françoiſe! Vive le Petit-fils de Henri IV *!"

In this behaviour of the National Guards,

* Long live the King! Long live the Reſtorer of French Liberty! Long live the Grandſon of Henry IV!

who having been excited to mutiny and ſedition were ſo ſoon after brought to a ſenſe of their crime, and to ſuch expreſſions of remorſe, a ſtrong proof will be found of that fickleneſs as well as ſenſibility which is ſo remarkable in the French character.

This people receive impreſſions with aſtoniſhing ſenſibility; but theſe impreſſions are effaced, and give way to others of a different nature, with a rapidity as extraordinary as the acuteneſs with which they were firſt felt; which makes the French appear in the eyes of their neighbours ſometimes in the light of children, and ſometimes in that of madmen. But when, in conſequence of this, it is imagined that they will be eaſily taken the advantage of, they diſplay of a ſudden, and when leaſt expected, a maturity and foundneſs of judgment that is more ſurpriſing and vexatious to their enemies than all the reſt.

This

This return of the National Guards to a ſenſe of their duty was highly provoking to a ſet of men who, unhappily for France, were at this time concentred in the capital. Some of theſe men from miſtaken notions of government, and ſome from intereſted and malicious motives, were continually raiſing ſuſpicions of the King, and endeavouring to create diſcord and confuſion. The perſons alluded to had not ſo much influence in the National Aſſembly, nor in the Municipality, as they came to have ſoon afterwards; nor were they ſo powerful at this time in the Jacobin Society, to which many members of the National Aſſembly belonged, as they were in the Club of Cordeliers and the Société Fraternelle, chiefly compoſed of the refuſe of the Jacobins.

The Municipality having been informed that ſome grenadiers of a certain diviſion of the National Guards had been particularly active on the 18th in promoting the mutiny,

tiny, had held the moſt abuſive language againſt the Royal Family, and had threatened to fire upon the cavalry, who by M. La Fayette's orders were endeavouring to diſengage the King's coach, decreed that this company ſhould be reduced, and another raiſed in its ſtead. The reduction took place immediately; but as it was repreſented to the Municipality, that fourteen only had been guilty of the crimes charged, all the reſt were admitted into the new formed company. This tranſaction was laid hold of by the factious clubs above alluded to, as a pretext for murmurs, accuſation, and ſedition. The fourteen diſcarded ſoldiers were received with marks of favour by the Fraternal Society: they were feaſted by the Cordeliers, and treated as perſecuted patriots; while the conduct of the Municipality was condemned, and M. La Fayette was accuſed as an enemy of liberty, and of being bought by the

Court,

Court. Emiſſaries were alſo employed to blacken his character, and miſrepreſent his conduct, among the groups of the idlers in the places of public reſort. Placards were paſted up, and pamphlets publiſhed againſt him. At the Cordeliers ſome men were heard to declare, that it would be meritorious to aſſaſſinate him; and at the Fraternal Society a woman, fired by the eloquence of theſe orators, and intoxicated with the ſpirit of patriotiſm, called him among other bad names a ſecond *Siſera*, and ſwore that ſhe would take the earlieſt opportunity of entering his houſe, and driving a nail into his temples while he was faſt aſleep.

The capital was kept in ſuch a ſtate of agitation by a few daring and unprincipled men, who had the direction of thoſe incendiary ſocieties, and through their means great influence in the populous ſuburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, where the pooreſt and moſt deſperate of the

citizens lived, that the King was adviſed to a meaſure, which, joined to what he had already done, would, as was imagined, remove all jealouſy of him, annihilate every pretext for complaint, and at once reſtore the public tranquillity. M. Montmorin, at this time Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, came to the National Aſſembly, and read a letter which by the King's command, as he aſſerted, he had tranſmitted to all the French Ambaſſadors and Reſidents at foreign Courts, as his Majeſty's genuine and ſincere ſentiments reſpecting the Revolution, and the Conſtitution which was juſt about to be eſtabliſhed in France, and which thoſe Ambaſſadors and Reſidents were required to make known to all the Courts of Europe, that there might no longer remain any doubt of the King's complete approbation of the new form of government which he had ſworn to maintain.

In this letter the following account of the

the Revolution is given : " Ce que l'on appelle la Révolution, n'eſt que l'anéantiſſement d'une foule d'abus, accumulés depuis des ſiécles par l'erreur du Peuple, ou le pouvoir des Miniſtres, qui n'a jamais été le pouvoir des Rois.

" Ces abus n'étoient pas moins funeſtes à la Nation qu'au Monarque. Ces abus, l'autorité, ſous des regnes heureux, n'avoit ceſſé de les attaquer, ſans pouvoir les détruire. Ils n'exiſtent plus. La Nation Souveraine n'a plus que des citoyens égaux en droits, plus de deſpote que la loi, plus d'organes que des fonctionnaires publics, et le Roi eſt le premier de ces fonctionnaires. Telle eſt la Revolution Francoiſe *."

It

* That which is called the Revolution is merely an annihilation of a number of abuſes which had been allowed to accumulate in the courſe of ages by the error of the People or the power of Miniſters, but never were part of the power of the Kings.

Thoſe abuſes were not leſs detrimental to the Nation than

It was added, that " all the King's power was maintained by the Conſtitution, except the dangerous power of making laws; that the French nation had no internal enemies, but thoſe who are ſo fooliſh as to imagine that twenty-four millions of men, after having by a bold exertion deſtroyed the abuſes of their government, will quietly permit them to be re-eſtabliſhed; that the moſt dangerous enemies of the Nation were thoſe who circulated doubts of the King's love of the Conſtitution; that ſuch men were either very blind or very wicked; that, believing themſelves the friends, they were the real enemies, of royalty; that calumny had

than to the Monarch. Under the happieſt reigns theſe abuſes were attacked by authority without being removed. They exiſt no longer. The Sovereign Nation conſiſts of citizens equal in their rights. There is now no power ſuperior to law; no organ by which the law can ſpeak but the public officers appointed for that purpoſe; and the King is the firſt of thoſe public officers. Such is the French Revolution.

even

even gone the length of aſſerting, that the King did not enjoy perfect liberty—and this merely becauſe he choſe to remain conſtantly within Paris—a choice which he owed to the patriotiſm and love of the citizens."

If the Pope, by ſome extraordinary accident, had fallen into the hands of the Hugonots during the war of the League, and had then iſſued a declaration importing, that, "being at perfect freedom, he took that opportunity of avowing his belief in the religious opinions of Calvin; that all who inſinuated that he was, or ever had been, of a different way of thinking were guilty of groſs calumny; for what he wiſhed above all things was to ſee the Roman Catholic worſhip with all its abominations aboliſhed:" ſuch a declaration would have been thought every bit as ſincere on the part of his Holineſs as thoſe in the letter to the foreign Courts in the name

of

of Lewis XVI. were believed to be either at thoſe Courts, or among the French themſelves after they began to reflect, which they never do during the firſt impreſſion. If what is announced is agreeable, the French in general are ſo much engroſſed with ſatisfaction, that they do not conſider whether it be probable or not. The reading of this letter was accordingly heard with joy by the Aſſembly, and with enthuſiaſtic applauſe by the audience in the galleries.

But M. Montmorin had no part in the compoſition of this letter. It was the production of two of the moſt popular members at that time in the National Aſſembly; who being of opinion that the ill humour and agitation of the Pariſians proceeded entirely from the pains taken by a few ſeditious individuals to inſpire them with a notion that the King hated the Conſtitution, and ſecretly conſpired with the enemies of France to overturn it, imagined, if his

Majeſty would make a full and ſtrong declaration of his attachment to the Conſtitution, and that he would conſider all *its* enemies, whether in or out of France, as *his* enemies, and order this declaration to be announced to the different Courts of Europe by his Ambaſſadors; that this meaſure would at once defeat the deſigns of the ſeditious, diſſipate the ſuſpicions of the people, reſtore the public tranquillity, and render the King ſo popular, that he and the whole Royal Family might viſit St. Cloud, Compiegne, and the other royal villas, as often as they pleaſed, without raiſing the leaſt ſuſpicion or uneaſineſs. In conſequence of this perſuaſion, thoſe two Deputies, being acquainted with ſome perſons conſtantly near the King, impreſſed the ſame upon them. Their reaſoning, being repeated to the King, was afterwards expatiated upon and enforced by the two members with ſuch energy, that he was at laſt prevailed on to

adopt the meaſure, and deſired them to draw ſuch a declaration as they conceived to be neceſſary for the purpoſe.

They accordingly did ſo; and preſented it to his Majeſty, who without any alteration gave it to M. de Montmorin, with orders to reduce it to the form of a letter to be tranſmitted to his Ambaſſadors at the different Courts.

M. de Montmorin, having peruſed this production, was aſtoniſhed at the whole, but particularly at ſome aſſertions evidently in contradiction with recent events known to all France. He repreſented to the King, that he was much afraid it would have an effect directly the reverſe of what was expected. The King, being ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of the meaſure, told the Miniſter that thoſe who adviſed it were better acquainted than he could be with the temper of the Pariſians, and therefore he perſiſted in the order he had given: on which

which M. de Montmorin begged to be allowed to reſign his office. The King, diſpleaſed with the propoſal, anſwered that he expected to be obeyed in the firſt place; and with regard to his reſignation, *that* might be ſettled afterwards.

M. de Montmorin ſubmitted, and ſent the declaration to the Ambaſſadors, and a copy, as has been mentioned, to the National Aſſembly *.

But, notwithſtanding the demonſtrations of joy and applauſe which the firſt reading produced, when people had time to weigh and conſider it with coolneſs and attention, it became evident that M. de Montmorin eſtimated it properly; that the authors of the declaration had overſhot the

* The account of this tranſaction was received from one, whoſe ſituation enabled him to be acquainted with the whole, and whoſe veracity may be depended upon.

M. de Montmorin was not ſuperſeded in his office until the month of October, at his repeated requeſt.

mark they aimed at. Even thoſe who were moſt diſpoſed to believe that the King's reſolution was to reſt ſatisfied with the Conſtitution, and never to enter into any plot for its overthrow, could not help thinking that the expreſſions in this declaration went greatly beyond what he could really feel; and therefore condemned it in their hearts as a meaſure of weakneſs. Others leſs partial to the King condemned it as a proof of falſehood, and ſpread their opinions with ſuch aſſiduity, that in a very ſhort time the ſuſpicions of his having an intention to withdraw from the kingdom was more general than ever; and the Royal Family were under the neceſſity of remaining conſtantly within the barriers of Paris; for it was apparent that the ſhorteſt excurſion might have occaſioned a very dangerous inſurrection.

A perſon who had acted an important part in the affairs of France, in conſequence

of which he was under the neceſſity of withdrawing from that country, had long meditated a plan for the re-eſtabliſhment of the King's authority, which he repreſented as the common cauſe of Kings, and had been very active at the different Courts of Europe in his endeavours to bring them to the ſame way of thinking.

It was natural to expect that his arguments were as likely to ſucceed with the brother of the Queen of France as with any other potentate. He laid his plan, therefore, before the Emperor Leopold, who was then at Mantua, whom he found diſpoſed as he could have wiſhed, and ſoon prevailed upon him to adopt it in the moſt earneſt manner. After every thing had been arranged for the execution of this project, it was thought proper to communicate the particulars to the King himſelf, to obtain his concurrence and co-operation. Count Alphonſe Durfort, a French gentleman of known courage and fidelity, who was at

that time at Mantua, was entruſted with this dangerous and very confidential ſervice. At various interviews with the Emperor, the whole particulars of the project were communicated to the Count, who agreed to ſet out directly for Paris, and, as ſoon as he ſhould have fulfilled his miſſion to the King, he was to return to the Emperor with the King's acquieſcence; for that was all that was required, and of it no doubt was entertained. The particulars of this project, conſiſting of twenty-one articles, were given to the Count in writing; but he was deſired to get them by heart, leſt any intelligence he might receive, or any accident that might happen during the journey, ſhould render it neceſſary to deſtroy the paper.

The firſt article expreſſes the general deſign, namely, the reſtoration of Lewis*.

* Theſe articles, as far as the author of this work knows, were never before publiſhed. That they are authentic, he has the moſt complete conviction.

The ſecond announces that the ſcheme was combined and ſupported by the Emperor, the Kings of Spain and Sardinia, the Swiſs Cantons, and the Circles of the Empire; and aſſerts that there were aſſurances from other Powers of Europe that they would not oppoſe.

The third article is in the following words: L'Empereur fera filer 35,000 hommes ſur les frontières de Flandres et du Hainaut; à la même époque les troupes des Cercles ſe porteront au nombre de 14,000 hommes au moins ſur l'Alſace. Les Suiſſes en même nombre ſe préſenteront ſur la frontière du Lionnois et de la Franche Comté. Le Roi de Sardaigne entrera en Dauphiné avec 15,000 hommes. L'Eſpagne a déjà raſſemblé 12,000 hommes dans la Catalogne, et portera à 20,000 les troupes qui menaceront les provinces méridionales. Tous ces différens corps formeront une maſſe de 100,000 hommes, qui ſe portera diviſée en

cinq colonnes ſur chacune des frontières auxquelles les différens Etats correſpondent. A ces armées ſe joindront les régiments reſtés fidèles, des volontaires armés dont on eſt ſûr, et tous les mécontents des provinces qui n'attendent que du ſecours pour ſe déclarer *.

* The Emperor will order 35,000 men to march to the frontiers of Flanders and Hainault; at the ſame time the troops of the Circles, to the number of 14,000 at leaſt, will march to Alſace. The ſame number of Swiſs will march towards the Lionnois and Franche Comté. The King of Sardinia will enter into Dauphiné with 15,000 men. Spain has already 12,000 in Catalonia; and will augment to 20,000 the army which will threaten the ſouthern provinces of France. Thoſe different corps amount in all to 100,000; which being divided into five columns, will preſs on the different frontiers of France, next to the countries to which the columns belong. Thoſe armies will be joined by ſuch of the French regiments as have remained faithful, by ſome armed volunteers who may be depended upon, as well as all thoſe in the provinces who are diſcontented with the preſent government, who will declare for the King as ſoon as the armies approach.

Article

Article IV. L'Empereur eſt aſſuré des bonnes diſpoſitions du Roi de Pruſſe, et ſa Majeſté Impériale s'eſt chargée elle-même de la correſpondance directe avec la Cour de Berlin, &c. *

Article V. On aura ſoin de tenir cette coalition ſecrete juſqu'au moment de l'exploſion ; c'eſt pourquoi on fera en ſorte d'empêcher toute inſurrection partielle dans l'intérieur †.

Article VI. La paix de la Ruſſie et de la Turquie étant plus que probable dans le courant de Juillet, on n'aura pas à craindre les embarras que la guerre auroit pû occaſionner ‖.

In

* The Emperor is aſſured of the King of Pruſſia's good intentions, and has taken upon himſelf the direct correſpondence with the Court of Berlin.

† Care will be taken to keep this coalition ſecret till the moment of exploſion, for which purpoſe partial inſurrections in the interior parts of the kingdom ſhould be prevented.

‖ As a peace betwixt Ruſſia and Turkey will in all probability

In the ſeventh article the reaſons are mentioned at length for believing that one hundred thouſand men will be more than ſufficient: the principal is, that theſe armies are to be conſidered only as auxiliaries to the nobility, the troops, and the natives of France who will declare for the ſame cauſe as ſoon as the Combined Armies ſhall appear on the frontiers.

Article VIII. Every thing to be ready by the end of Auguſt. A Proteſtation by all the branches of the Bourbon family, ſigned by the Kings of Spain and Naples, and the Prince of Parma, will be publiſhed. A Manifeſto of the Emperor will appear ſoon after.

Article IX. Quoique l'Empereur ſoit l'ame et le chef de l'entrepriſe, il ſeroit peut-être dangereux pour la Reine qu'il parût en

probability take place in July, nothing is to be feared from the diſorders which a continuation of that war might have occaſioned.

être

être le premier mobile, et on ne manqueroit pas d'attribuer à la maiſon d'Autriche ce que l'Aſſemblée s'efforcera de faire paroître odieux au peuple. C'eſt pourquoi, et du conſentement de l'Empereur, on aura ſoin de faire paroître avant tout, la Proteſtation de la maiſon de Bourbon, et le Manifeſte de S. M. I. venant au ſecours des Princes lezés, prennant la défenſe des têtes couronnées avec de plus grands moyens, n'en ſera que plus impoſant *.

Articles X. and XI. entirely regard the

* Although the Emperor is the ſoul and chief of the enterpriſe, it might be dangerous for the Queen that he ſhould appear to be the firſt mover of it; for whatever is moſt odious in the eyes of the people, or what the Aſſembly can make appear ſo, will be imputed to the Houſe of Auſtria. For this reaſon, with the Emperor's conſent, the Proteſtation in the name of the Houſe of Bourbon will appear in the firſt place; and then his Imperial Majeſty's Manifeſto in favour of the injured Princes, and in defence of all crowned heads, will appear with greater efficacy.

Proteſtation

Proteſtation intended to be publiſhed in the name of the Bourbon family. The King and Queen of Naples have ſeen it; and only wait until it ſhall be ſigned by the King of Spain, before they ſign it.

Article XII. The King of Sardinia is in the beſt diſpoſition; his troops are ready, and he only waits the ſignal from the Emperor.

Article XIII. The Diet of Ratiſbon has not yet taken final reſolutions.

Article XIV. The return of certain perſons ſent to other Courts is expected, and the beſt hopes of their co-operation, or at leaſt of their neutrality, is entertained.

Article XV. Every thing being thus arranged, the King and Queen are entreated not to allow this plan to be diſturbed by any new ideas, and that they will be very careful to whom they communicate any part of the ſcheme.

Article XVI. The King and Queen are warned

warned to place no confidence in M. la Fayette, and alſo not entirely to truſt M. de Montmorin. Mention is made of the King's Declaration to Foreign Courts by his Ambaſſadors; that it had ſhocked many, but had not impoſed on any perſon of diſcernment with regard to the King's *real* ſentiments.

Article XVII. relates to particular manœuvres intended to miſlead people's conjectures as to the real deſign.

Article XVIII. declares that a correſpondence has been always kept up with various Members of the French Parliaments diſperſed in different parts of Europe, who are to unite in the firſt conſiderable town of France that ſhall be in the power of the Coalition; and there to compoſe a Parliament, to eſtabliſh forms, to pronounce the nullity of the Decrees of the National Aſſembly, to judge and condemn criminals, and that all poſſible éclat will be given to this Court.

Article

Article XIX. Quoique l'on ait deſiré juſqu'à préſent que leurs Majeſtés puiſſent elles-mêmes ſe procurer leur liberté, la ſituation préſente engage à les ſupplier très-inſtamment de n'y plus ſonger : leur poſition eſt bien différente de ce qu'elle étoit avant le 18 Avril, avant que le Roi eut été forcé d'aller à l'Aſſemblée, et d'écrire la lettre aux Ambaſſadeurs. L'unique objet dont leurs Majeſtés doivent s'occuper eſt de ne rien negliger de ce qui peut diſcréditer l'Aſſemblée, et d'employer tous les moyens poſſibles à augmenter leur popularité, pour en tirer parti quand le moment ſera venu, et de manière que le peuple effrayé à l'entrée des armées étrangères en France ne voye ſon ſalut que dans ſa ſoumiſſion à l'autorité de S. M. Telle eſt l'opinion de l'Empereur ; il attache uniquement à ce plan de conduite le ſuccès des meſures qu'il a adoptées, et il demande inſtamment qu'on éloigne toute autre idée. Ce qui arriveroit à leurs Majeſtés ſi dans

leur

leur fuite elles ne pouvoient échapper a une ſurveillance barbare le fait fremir d'horreur. S. M. I. croit que la ſauvegarde la plus ſûre pour leurs Majeſtés eſt une armée de 130,000 hommes précedée par des Manifeſtes menaçans *.

Article

* Although until this period it was to be wiſhed that their Majeſties had been able to procure their liberty, yet in the preſent juncture they are entreated not to think of making any attempt for that purpoſe. Their ſituation is very different from what it was before the 18th of April, before the King was forced to go to the National Aſſembly, and write the letter to the Ambaſſadors.

The principal object which their Majeſties ought to attend to, is to neglect nothing which may bring diſcredit upon the Aſſembly, and employ every means of augmenting their own popularity; from which great benefit may be derived hereafter, when the people, terrified at the entrance of foreign troops into France, may ſee no ſafety but in ſubmiſſion to his Majeſty's authority.

This is the Emperor's opinion; and he reſts all hopes of the ſucceſs of his meaſures on this plan of conduct being adhered to. He earneſtly entreats every other idea

may

Article XX. relates to the Duc de Polignac, who was to carry on a correſpondence with a perſon in the confidence of the Emperor.

Article XXI. recommends full confidence in the Count Alphonſe Durfort.

From the reception which the Pruſſian army met with when they attempted to penetrate into France the following year, many will imagine that this ſcheme of the Emperor would have had no better ſucceſs, had it been fairly tried; and poſſibly their conjecture is juſt. At the ſame time it muſt be acknowledged that there was more reaſon to expect ſucceſs at the firſt period than at the ſecond. The frontier towns were then

may be given up. The dreadful conſequences to their Majeſties, which might follow an unſucceſsful attempt to eſcape, cannot be thought of without horror. The Emperor thinks that their Majeſties' beſt ſecurity is in an army of 130,000 men, preceded by threatening Manifeſtoes.

more

more out of repair, worſe provided in military ſtores, and more weakly garriſoned. The calumnies againſt the King had not made ſuch impreſſion on the minds of the people. Republican principles were not ſo widely diffuſed. The King had not fled from the capital, and undergone all thoſe mortifications to which he was expoſed after being ſtopped at Varennes, and during his return to Paris; circumſtances which tended to lower him in the eyes of the populace more than all that had happened before.

But what would have been the effect of this project, had the King completely adopted it, and adhered to the injunctions expreſſed in the articles communicated to him by the Count Durfort, cannot be known; for the unhappy Prince, being in dread of the utmoſt violence from the increaſing rancour of his enemies, at laſt liſtened to a

propoſal made to him by M. de Bouillé, who commanded the troops on the frontiers, to attempt to eſcape with his family out of the kingdom; or at leaſt to Montmedi, a garriſoned town on the frontiers of France, adjoining to the Duchy of Luxembourg. This plan had been long in preparation, and it is probable was known to the Emperor, from the earneſt manner in which the King is deſired to abandon it in the nineteenth of the articles above enumerated; and there is reaſon to think that he did not agree to this propoſed flight, until to the dread of violence to his family and perſon a new inducement occurred.

Beſide the perſon above alluded to, there was another ex-miniſter of France who had alſo been obliged to fly the country. He was ſuppoſed to have enjoyed much of the Queen's confidence; notwithſtanding which,

which, and his former eminent ſituation, the ſcheme adopted by the Emperor for the re-eſtabliſhment of the King's authority had been carefully concealed from him; but in ſpite of all the care he came to the knowledge of it, and actually procured a copy of the articles given to Count Durfort. His former eminent ſituation in France, and the Queen's confidence, which he ſtill enjoyed, gave him a juſt claim, as it was moſt natural for him to think, to be conſulted in whatever regarded the King's reſtoration; and the deſign of excluding him from any part in a meaſure of ſo much importance, could not fail to exaſperate him againſt the perſon whom he thought the cauſe of this excluſion. Whether he was at all actuated by reſentment, or entirely from a perſuaſion that M. de Bouillé's plan was preferable, he knows beſt; but it is believed that he found means to prepoſſeſs the Queen

ſo ſtrongly in favour of the plan propoſed by M. de Bouillé, that ſhe prevailed on the King to perſevere in it, and to reject the other when it was afterwards communicated to him by the Count Durfort.

There is one conſideration which ſeems not to have occurred to thoſe Miniſters; namely, that in adopting either of their plans the King would be conſidered as having broken the oath he had taken to continue faithful to the Conſtitution; and that, after the Declaration made by his Ambaſſadors at foreign Courts, announced by his Miniſter in the Aſſembly, this conduct would appear deceitful in the higheſt degree to the Nation.

That thoſe two Miniſters were ſincere in their wiſhes for the reſtoration of the King's authority will not be diſputed. The point on which they differed was, which

of

of them ſhould have the honour of doing it. But as this was a point of no manner of importance to their royal maſter, provided it was done at all, ſome people blame the one for concealing from the other the plan agreed to by the Emperor for that purpoſe; and different people blame that other for counteracting it by the advice he ſent to the Queen. And thus it is inſinuated that thoſe two Miniſters were influenced by jealouſy and ſelfiſh motives, inſtead of ſacrificing all conſiderations to the great object of ſerving the King. This conſtruction ſeems too ſevere; but whether it be ſo or not, no inference can be drawn to the diſadvantage of any exiſting Miniſter in any country of Europe: for, even if it could be proved that the two Miniſters in queſtion were influenced by motives of intereſt or ambition, more than by regard for their Sovereign, it ought to be remem-

bered that they were both out of place; and nothing is more different than the ſentiments of Miniſters out of place from thoſe of Miniſters who are in.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXV.

The Royal Family eſcape from Paris—are ſtopped at Varennes—Various Incidents on that Occaſion—They are obliged to return to Paris—Reflections.

IN conſequence of the plan formed by M. de Bouillé for the eſcape of the Royal Family, the King and Queen, without any attendant, came on the 11th of June to the apartment of Madame de Rochereuil, a Lady in the Queen's ſervice; and, after examining the rooms and their communications minutely, informed her that they were needed for another perſon. This apartment communicated by a corridor with the Queen's.

On the 17th, as M. Dumouſtier, who had formerly belonged to the Garde-du-Corps,

was walking alone in the garden of the Tuileries, a perſon whom he did not know accoſted him, and deſired that he would follow him into the palace. Dumouſtier was directly conducted to the King, to whom he had never before had the honour of ſpeaking. His Majeſty deſired that he might order for himſelf, and for Meſſrs. Maldent and Valory, two of his old companions, three courier's jackets of a yellow colour; and that he ſhould walk the ſame evening on the quay of the Pont Royal, where he would be joined by a perſon who would give him farther inſtructions.

All theſe directions were carefully attended to; and, in conſequence of the inſtructions given to Dumouſtier by the unknown perſon at the quay, Valory went on the 20th to Bondy to order horſes and wait there for the King. Dumouſtier was at the Porte Saint Martin with a coach and four. A coach with only two horſes arrived about eleven

eleven in the Cour des Princes. M. Maldent entered the palace privately at nine in the evening, and was conducted into a ſmall chamber, where he remained until near twelve. Nothing extraordinary was obſerved in the appearance or conduct of any of the Royal Family. They retired at their uſual hour; and the uſual orders were given for the following day.

The Queen then gave orders that the Prince and Princeſs Royal ſhould be dreſſed, and conducted to a room where ſhe herſelf was with the King and the Princeſs Elizabeth. There were beſides two unknown men, one of whom immediately was directed to conduct the two female attendants on the Prince and Princeſs Royal to a chaiſe which was found waiting for them on the Quai Voltaire. Having placed them in the carriage, their conductor withdrew; and the ladies were driven to Claye. The other unknown perſon accompanied the Prince

and

and Princeſs Royal and Madame de Tourzel by the apartment of Madame de Rochereuil into the Cour des Princes; where having entered the coach with two horſes, they were driven to the Carouſel, and ſoon joined by the Queen and the Princeſs Elizabeth who came together without any attendant, and were helped into the carriage by the coachman. The King came laſt, attended by M. Maldent who mounted behind the coach, which was immediately driven to the Porte Saint Martin; and having exchanged it for the carriage with four horſes which awaited them under the care of M. Dumouſtier, they were all driven to Bondy, where M. Valory had horſes in readineſs. The chaiſe with the two ladies joined them on the road. Although they came out of the carriage at ſome of the poſt-houſes, and the King converſed familiarly and with apparent eaſe with ſeveral perſons he met there, they were not once ſuſpected to be

other

other than the characters they aſſumed, until they arrived at St. Menehould, about 170 miles from Paris—a town ſince diſtinguiſhed by the memorable ſtand made by the French under the command of Dumourier.

Monſieur the King's brother and his conſort were comprehended in M. de Bouillé's plan. They left the palace of Luxembourg about the ſame time that the King and Queen left the Tuileries; but it was agreed for various reaſons that they ſhould take a different road; and accordingly directing their courſe by Flanders, they arrived ſafely at Mons.

The King and Queen were not ſo fortunate, though at this place they may naturally be ſuppoſed to have thought all their own danger over, to have been ſolicitous only about that of Monſieur and Madame, and wiſhing them the ſame good fortune with themſelves. Drouet, the poſtmaſter at St. Mene-

St. Menehould, had never ſeen either the King or Queen; but he had ſeen a portrait of her Majeſty, and was ſtruck with the reſemblance of that portrait to his gueſt, the pretended Baroneſs Kroff, which was the name the Queen had aſſumed. This, however, might have paſſed without making much impreſſion, had not he recollected that two detachments, the one of huſſars, and the other of dragoons, had arrived the ſame day at St. Menehould. The former had already left the town; the latter were ſtill in it. While he was ruminating on this circumſtance, which he thought a little extraordinary, he obſerved the officer who commanded the dragoons ſpeaking to one of the couriers in a manner ſomewhat myſterious, while the other couriers, having paid the former poſtillions too liberally, were impatiently puſhing the new ones to make haſte. Theſe obſervations revived the ſuſpicions which the ſight of the Queen had

raiſed in the mind of Drouet; but ſtill they did not form a preſumption ſtrong enough to juſtify him in ſtopping the carriages, which were allowed to proceed. But ſoon after their departure, when Drouet perceived that the dragoons were preparing to follow them, his ſuſpicions amounting in his mind to a certainty, without farther heſitation he called *To arms!* aſſerting that it certainly was the Royal Family that had juſt paſſed; that it was the duty of good citizens to prevent their going out of the kingdom; and he inſtigated all around to hinder the dragoons from following the carriages. Drouet was believed in his aſſertions; and, what ſeems a little unaccountable, his directions were literally followed. The whole detachment of dragoons remained paſſive, inſtead of ſilencing Drouet, and riding after the King, as might have been expected. Drouet, with a perſon of the name of Guillaume, ſet out on horſeback with all expedition

dition to Clermont, and was there informed, that inſtead of going to Metz, as the couriers who attended the carriages had given out, they had taken the road to Varennes, on which he and his companion by a croſs road, impracticable to carriages, went to that place, and arrived at the inn of the Bras d'Or ſome minutes before the King.

They informed Le Blanc, the innkeeper, that two carriages were on the point of arriving with the King and Royal Family, who were ſecretly withdrawing from the kingdom; that it was every body's duty to ſtop them; and there was not a moment to be loſt. Le Blanc immediately ran with this intelligence to the Procureur Syndic, who acted as Chief Magiſtrate in the abſence of the Mayor, who being a member of the National Aſſembly was then at Paris. The Procureur ſent his ſervants to rouſe all the Municipal Officers, the National Guards belonging to the town, and the inhabitants in

general. Drouet and Guillaume dragged a loaded waggon which they perceived in the ſtreet, and overſet it acroſs the bridge, to obſtruct the paſſage of the carriages in caſe they attempted to proceed by force through the town. Le Blanc with his brother returned to the inn, armed themſelves, and with a few followers met the carriages, and ordered them to ſtop. The poſtillions were continuing to proceed. They were threatened to be fired upon. "We are all good patriots," cried the couriers, "provided with regular paſſports for Frankfort." "*Patriotes ou non*," replied Le Blanc, "*pied à terre*." The Procureur Syndic then approached the carriage which was drawn by ſix horſes, followed by three ſervants on horſeback, the three couriers in yellow jackets being on the coach box. He was preſented with a paſſport for the Baroneſs Kroff, her family and attendants, going to Frankfort. It was ſigned *Louis*, and beneath *Montmorin*. The

Magiſtrate,

Magiſtrate, without diſcovering that he had any ſuſpicion of the perſons, alleged that it was too late to examine the paſſport, it being then midnight; that the roads were very bad, and that it would be dangerous in many reſpects for them to attempt to go on before day-break; and he offered to accommodate the whole company in his own houſe until then. This offer was accepted, partly from a dread of the conſequence of attempting to proceed by force, and partly from an expectation that the arrival of troops would oblige the magiſtrates to ſubmit in their turn.

Soon after a party of huſſars, commanded by an aide-de-camp of M. de Bouillé, arrived. They drew up before the Procureur's houſe. This magiſtrate, not being as yet abſolutely certain that his gueſts were in reality the Royal Family, went to the houſe of M. de Lon, a judge, who had ſeen the King, and begged that he would accompany him back

to

to aſcertain the point, which the Judge agreed to. On his return the Procureur, addreſſing the officer who commanded the huſſars, ſaid, " that as there was reaſon to think it was the King whom they had ſtopped, it was hoped that he and his men were too good citizens not to lend their aid to prevent his withdrawing out of the kingdom."

The Procureur then aſcended with M. de Lon into the chamber where the Royal Family were; the inſtant that De Lon threw his eyes on the King, he ſignified by an expreſſive look to the Magiſtrate that it was unqueſtionably he.

The unhappy Prince, having obſerved this, thought that all farther diſſimulation would be vain; turning therefore with great emotion to the Procureur, he ſaid—" Oui, je ſuis votre Roi. Placé dans la capitale au milieu des poignards et des bayonnettes, je viens chercher en province, au milieu de

mes fideles ſujets, la liberté et la paix dont vous jouiſſez tous. Je ne puis plus reſter à Paris ſans y mourir, ma famille et moi *."

He concluded this affecting addreſs by conjuring the Magiſtrate and thoſe around to aſſiſt him in making his eſcape. The Procureur replied, that he had ſworn to be faithful to the Nation, the Law, and his Majeſty; and that in his own opinion he ſhould betray all three by doing what was required. He begged therefore that the King would give over thoughts of proceeding farther, and would conſent to return to the capital. The Queen, ſhocked with the idea of being dragged back to Paris, taking the Dauphin in her arms, in the moſt pathetic terms conjured the Magiſtrate, and all

* Yes, I am your King. Being ſurrounded in the capital by daggers and bayonets, I come to my faithful ſubjects of this province in ſearch of that liberty and ſafety which you all enjoy. My family and I were in continual danger of being murdered at Paris.

who heard her, to ſave the lives of their King and his children by aſſiſting them to eſcape; for that miſery and ruin awaited them at the capital.

But the Procureur and others continuing to urge the neceſſity of their returning, the King declared "that he had no deſign to withdraw from the kingdom; that his intention was to go no farther than to Montmedi; that the national guards might accompany him; and that he had a right by the Conſtitution to travel within the kingdom without controul." They ſhewed him the decree by which he was obliged never to go to a greater diſtance than twenty leagues from the National Aſſembly. The officer who commanded the national guards obſerving that the huſſars were ordered to perform ſome evolutions, ſuſpected there was an intention of ſeizing the cannon which pointed on the Procureur's houſe. He therefore made them be moved to

the extremities of the ſtreet, and guarded by ſtrong parties of his men; by which manœuvre the huſſars were placed between two batteries. The officer who commanded the huſſars attempting to move his detachment out of this ſituation, it was imagined that he intended to go in ſearch of other troops of cavalry, which were ſuppoſed to be on the road, and then to return in greater force. On this ſuſpicion the major of the national guard refuſed to let them paſs. Their commanding officer ſtruck at the major with his ſabre; the other avoided the ſtroke, fired his piſtol, and wounded the dragoon officer. This combat took place in ſight of the whole party of huſſars, who remained paſſive ſpectators; and when their officer was carried into a houſe on account of his wound, they demanded that an officer of the national guards might be appointed to command them. In whatever intention theſe huſſars had come to Varennes, it is

evident

evident from their conduct that they were at this period more inclined to join the citizens than to obey their officer; they had probably been gained over by the national guards immediately after they entered the town.

During theſe tranſactions, the Procureur, the Judge, and the municipal officers were endeavouring to perſuade the King to return to the capital; to which both he and the Queen expreſſed the greateſt averſion. One of the national gendarmerie ſuddenly arrived; he ſaid he had eſcaped a thouſand chances of being ſtopped; for that many parties of cavalry patrolled the roads near the town, and that the ſon of General de Bouillé was at no great diſtance with a body of troops. Soon after an aide-de-camp of M. La Fayette arrived. He brought orders from the National Aſſembly, which he preſented to the King. He repreſented to him the univerſal uneaſineſs which his

withdrawing had occaſioned at the capital, and the danger of his removing ſo near the frontiers. The King repeated his former aſſertions, that he never intended to go out of France; "that his plan was to go no further than Montmedi—there he would be out of the power of a ſet of men who miſled the populace of Paris, who overawed the National Aſſembly, and ſeemed bent on his ruin, that of the monarchy, and of the French nation. That when he and his family ſhould be ſafe at Montmedi, the people of France would have it in their power to manifeſt their real inclination with regard to him, and alſo with regard to thoſe leaders of the populace of Paris, who, by having their King and his family in their hands, expected to enſlave them and tyrannize over the whole kingdom." And he again inſiſted on proceeding on his journey, inviting the Procureur and national guards to accompany him. The anſwer to all this

this was a repetition of the former entreaties that his Majeſty would return to Paris. M. Mangin, a ſurgeon, with twelve or fourteen of the inhabitants on horſeback, had with wonderful zeal and activity rode around all the villages near Varennes propagating the news, and animating the people to haſten to the aſſiſtance of the magiſtrates; and, as the morning was now beginning to break, they brought accounts of parties of cavalry that had been ſeen in the neighbourhood. Thoſe accounts were ſoon after verified by an attempt made by one party to enter the town, who were repulſed by the national guards. It was now thought dangerous to retain the Royal Family any longer ſo near the frontiers; and inſtead of the entreaties which had been hitherto uſed to induce the King to return to the capital, a ſteady declaration was made to him of the abſolute neceſſity of his complying with that meaſure.

The Royal Family were obliged to ſet out, guarded by a numerous band of national guards, and accompanied by the municipal officers of Varennes. The march was hardly commenced when a conſiderable body of troops, particularly a detachment of the regiment of Royal Allemand were ſeen on a height at no great diſtance; they ſeemed to meditate an attack; on obſerving the ſteady countenance of the eſcort they deſiſted.

A party of huſſars, however, commanded by the ſon of General Bouillé, attempted to paſs a river, with a view to have intercepted the national guards, or to haraſs and retard them in their march, until ſuch time as all the detachments of cavalry which were on the road joining, they might be able to reſcue the King; but in this attempt he failed.

It will be thought that the movements of ſo many troops might have created ſuſpicion

cion that ſome extraordinary project was carrying on; but M. de Bouillé had precluded any ſurpriſe on that account, by a public declaration ſome time before, that the circumſtances of the times rendered an encampment near Montmedi highly expedient. He had gone himſelf on the 18th of June, and with ſeveral officers had reconnoitred the ground on which the camp was to be pitched, and had given orders for a great quantity of bread to be baked and in readineſs for the troops. He had revieweđ the regiment of Royal Allemand at Stenay, and been very liberal in his praiſes both of officers and men; and, on the pretext of a valuable treaſure being to paſs that way, he ordered detachments of dragoons and huſſars to patrol from the firſt poſt, after paſſing Chalons on the road from Paris, all the way to Montmedi. Thoſe detachments were all commanded by choſen and confidential officers, who were authoriſed to inform

form the troops under their command that it was the King they were protecting, at any time when they ſhould think ſuch information neceſſary. Their orders alſo were that, when they had ſeen the Royal carriages paſs, each detachment was at a proper diſtance to follow, and cover their eſcape all the way to Montmedi, where the whole were to rendezvous, and join the troops which would be found there. So that the plan ſeems to have been contrived with judgment, and executed with addreſs, until the arrival of the Royal Family at St. Menehould and Varennes. It is thought that Drouet might have been ſeized by the dragoons at St. Menehould, and prevented from raiſing the country; that the huſſars at Varennes might have cleared the way for the carriages, and enabled them to proceed before the National Guards were aſſembled in force. It is ſaid that the officer who commanded them propoſed this, but was

prevented

prevented by the King. It is alſo believed by ſome, that if all the detachments on the road had joined that of the Royal Allemand which appeared in the heights between Varennes and Clermont, and had made a briſk attack on the National Guards, they might even then have reſcued the Royal Family, and conducted them to Montmedi. A dread of endangering the lives of the King and Queen, it is probable, prevented any of thoſe attempts from being made.

What rendered the failure of M. de Bouillé's plan more vexatious as well as more ſurpriſing is, that almoſt all the difficulties were fortunately ſurmounted, and it was on the point of ſucceeding when it was blaſted. By much the greateſt difficulty was to get the Royal Family clear out of the Tuileries and Louvre, at a time when there was ſo great a ſuſpicion of their intending to eſcape, and ſo many perſons placed near them merely for the purpoſe of watching their conduct;

conduct; and next to this it was moſt difficult to get them out of Paris. Theſe, however, were happily accompliſhed; but ſtill there was great reaſon to dread that ſome of the party would be known by the people at the poſt-houſes near the capital. *That* alſo was happily avoided; and they arrived, without creating the leaſt ſuſpicion, not only to ſuch a diſtance as infinitely diminiſhed the chance of being known by the people at the poſt-houſes, but alſo at a part of the country where ſuch a number of troops were ſtationed for their protection as, it might have been thought, would have prevented them from being ſtopped, even although they ſhould have been known. It ſeems likewiſe ſurpriſing, that a project ſo well combined, and the execution of which was entruſted to choſen men, moſtly of the military profeſſion, and whoſe intereſt, honour, and lives, were all ſtrongly involved in its ſucceſs, ſhould have been fruſtrated by

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men unconnected with and unknown to each other, who had no particular intereſt in the matter. What renders this ſtill more remarkable is, that the natural inclination of the heart is to aſſiſt thoſe who are obliged to fly or conceal themſelves to ſave their lives, and to conſider thoſe who betray them as worthleſs men. The ſuppoſed guilt of the fugitive will not ſave their betrayers from the imputation. They will be put on a footing with the odious and deſpicable claſs of ſpies and informers which certain Governments employ—a ſet of wretches who, deſpiſed even by thoſe who hire them, attend coffee-houſes and public meetings on purpoſe to catch unguarded expreſſions, to pervert, and to betray. In vain do ſuch characters endeavour to ſkreen themſelves from hatred, by pleading their utility, and the ſupport they give to Government. Theſe pleas may be urged with more force

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in favour of hangmen, but cannot render the profeſſion leſs diſgraceful.

The bias of the human heart to aſſiſt the unfortunate who are flying to ſave their lives, is ſtrongeſt when the fugitives are of a tender age, the weaker ſex, or of royal rank. All thoſe motives were combined on the preſent occaſion.

Of the great number of perſons of both ſexes who were privy to the concealment and eſcape of Charles II. after the battle of Worceſter, ſeveral of whom diſcovered the King by accident, and without having been entruſted with the ſecret, it is probable that ſome were no great friends to royalty, yet every one was faithful and zealous to aſſiſt the unhappy Prince in his eſcape, although death was denounced againſt all who concealed him, and a great reward proclaimed to thoſe who ſhould arreſt him. Thirty thouſand pounds of reward was offered by

Government

Government to any one who ſhould deliver up the Prince Pretender, or give information where he was concealed, when he was lurking in the highlands of Scotland, after the battle of Culloden. The wealth of the Indies would not have bribed the pooreſt highlander in Scotland to have done what would have rendered him in the eyes of his countrymen, and in his own, for ever infamous. And many who were enemies to the cauſe of that unfortunate perſon rejected the idea of ſtopping him in his flight, or betraying him into the hands of his purſuers.

It will be ſaid that the caſes are different, and it muſt be acknowledged they are ſo; in the two laſt mentioned certain death attended the fugitives if ſtopped, which was not to be apprehended in the other. Nobody could have ſtopped Charles the Second or the Young Pretender from a good motive; their

their armies were diſperſed, and there was no reaſon for preventing their eſcape, except to have them put to death and to get the reward. Lewis, it will be ſaid, was flying to raiſe a civil war, and to plunge the nation again into ſlavery. Yet, after every allowance of this kind, it will be thought that humane and well diſpoſed villagers would have been more affected by the affliction of the Royal Family than by ſuch remote conſequences. They ſaw the King and Queen in an agony of dread at the thoughts of being detained, which it might have been expected would have damped the inclination to arreſt and carry them back to Paris. The fact was, it did not; the whole country ſhewed eagerneſs and activity to both; which is a ſtrong proof of the miſtake of thoſe who ſtrenuouſly aſſerted, that however much the Revolution might be liked by the Pariſians, it was hated by the people at large. And the

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diſpoſition of the inhabitants of this particular part of France might have indicated to the Pruſſians who invaded it by the ſame quarter ſoon after, in the hopes of being joined and aſſiſted by the natives, what kind of junction and aſſiſtance they had reaſon to expect.

It was imagined that the preventing the eſcape of the Royal Family would have precluded many evils which otherwiſe were likely to happen. It is hardly poſſible, however, to conceive that more miſchief and miſery could have taken place in any ſuppoſable event than has actually happened. The perſon indeed to whom the moſt dreadful portion of thoſe calamities is to be imputed, was a member of the Conſtituent Aſſembly; but his influence there was ſmall, and there was little probability that ſuch a pale emaciated weakly being as Roberſpierre was to become the giant of the

Revolution, and have it in his power to gratify a thirſt for blood as inſatiable as that attributed to any monſter of the ſame race recorded in hiſtory or fable.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Conduct of the National Aſſembly—Of the Pariſian Populace—The King and Queen examined by Commiſſioners from the Aſſembly—Suſpenſion of the King from his Public Functions—Univerſal Diſcuſſions—Le Républicain—M. de Condorcet—M. Briſſot—Roberſpierre.

ABOUT eight in the morning of the 21ſt of June the flight of the Royal Family was known at Paris. The cannon placed near the ſtatue of Henry the Fourth were fired, the tocſin ſounded, and the National Guards were ſummoned to aſſemble under arms at the places of rendezvous of their ſections. The news ſpread rapidly; the people hurried from all quarters to the gardens of the Tuileries and of the Lux-

embourg; the firſt ſenſation was ſurpriſe; that was ſoon converted into indignation againſt the fugitives. All ſigns with the portraits of the King or Queen, all emblems of royalty, were torn down and trampled under foot. The ſection of the Luxembourg ordered a banner, which they had received as a preſent from Monſieur, to be publicly torn in pieces; a man was obliged to eraſe his name from above his ſhop becauſe he was called Louis. The officer who commanded the guard at the Tuileries was in danger of falling a victim to the firſt impulſe of popular fury; which in France is more blind, precipitate, and bloody, than in any other country. He was ſaved by the interpoſition of the National Guards; who at this time conſiſted of the moſt reſpectable tradeſpeople of Paris, and were more under the controul of diſcipline and reaſon than the mob of St. Antoine.

The ſteady and prudent conduct of the National

National Aſſembly had great effect in preventing the diſorders which were to be dreaded, in a turbulent city like Paris, from ſuch an event as the King's withdrawing. They ordained that the decrees of the Aſſembly ſhould immediately have the force of law, and that the Miniſter of Juſtice ſhould apply the ſeal of the State to them without further ſanction or ceremony. They decreed that the National Guards ſhould remain under arms immovable, until they received orders from thoſe authoriſed by the Aſſembly. They ordered the Miniſters of State to the bar, to receive inſtructions from the Aſſembly. They diſpatched couriers to all the departments with orders to the Magiſtrates and Commanding Officers of the Line and National Guards to ſtop all travellers, to prevent any perſon from going out of the kingdom, and to preſerve tranquillity. They preſcribed a new oath of fidelity to

all the military, by which they engaged to obey no orders but thoſe given in conſequence of decrees of the Aſſembly; and that they would never permit an invaſion of the French territory by foreigners.

M. de la Fayette, having been in ſome danger from the populace, was protected by the National guards; and when it was announced that he waited the orders of the Aſſembly, ſome inſinuations were thrown out to his diſadvantage. Theſe were repelled by M. Barnave, who ſhewed the danger and injuſtice of countenancing ſuſpicions without good grounds; adding, that La Fayette had proved himſelf the friend of liberty from the beginning of the Revolution, and merited the utmoſt confidence of the Aſſembly. He was accordingly confirmed in the command of the National Guards. This behaviour was the more generous on the part of Barnave, becauſe he and

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La Fayette had been for ſome time before on ill terms.

The new oath was taken in the Aſſembly by Meſſrs. de Rochambeau, La Fayette, D'Affry, and all the Officers of the Line, as well as of the Swiſs and National Guards then in Paris.

On the morning after his departure a paper was delivered to M. de la Port, Intendant of the King's houſehold, with directions that he ſhould carry it to the National Aſſembly. It contained an addreſs to the French Nation, written entirely by the King himſelf, in which he complains of the Aſſembly, gives the reaſons of his withdrawing from a city where he was not free, where his life was in danger, and enumerates facts to prove thoſe aſſertions. The King on this occaſion does not ſeem to have ſufficiently reflected on the danger to which he expoſed an old and faithful ſervant by this dangerous commiſſion, as the Aſſembly

might have been ſo irritated at the King's flight, and at his ſeeming diſlike of the Conſtitution, notwithſtanding his late Declaration to foreign Courts, as to have wreaked their anger on M. de la Port, whom it was natural for them to have ſuſpected of having been privy to or aſſiſting in his flight. They immediately ordered the Declaration to be read, and liſtened with profound attention and without any interruption. It was ordered to be printed and publiſhed. A Proclamation, of which the following is a tranſlation, was ſoon after made in all the public places and ſtreets of Paris:

"The National Aſſembly declares to the citizens of Paris and to all the empire, that the ſame courage which has conducted the Aſſembly in the moſt difficult circumſtances will not abandon it at this emergency. The moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures have been taken to ſtop the flight of the King. The Aſſembly are to continue their ſittings

without interruption; and the citizens of Paris are required to hold themſelves in readineſs to march at the firſt notice."

The Preſident then informed the Aſſembly, that an officer of the National Guards had brought a letter addreſſed to the Queen, which had been intercepted; but that he doubted if even the preſent ſituation of affairs would juſtify a breach of public confidence, or entitle them to open it. It was univerſally agreed that it ſhould not be opened.

When thoſe reſolutions which were thought moſt preſſingly neceſſary had been decreed, M. Beauharnois the Preſident ſaid, "If no member has any thing farther to propoſe, we may paſs to the order of the day."

The Aſſembly immediately reſumed the diſcuſſion of the Penal Code, in which they had been employed before the King's flight was known. An anſwer to the Declaration which the King had left behind him,

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and which had been réad in the Aſſembly, was ordered to be made by a Committee. It was addreſſed, like the other, to the French Nation. Being approved by the Aſſembly, it was immediately publiſhed and diſperſed all over France. The following is the laſt paragraph: " Il eſt, envers les grandes nations, des attentats que la généroſité ſeule peut faire oublier. Le Peuple François etoit fier dans la ſervitude. Il montrera les vertus et l'héroiſme de la Liberté. Que les ennemis de la Conſtitution le ſachent: Pour aſſervir de nouveau le territoire de cet empire, il faudroit anéantir la Nation. Le deſpotiſme formera, s'il le veut, une pareille entrepriſe: il ſera vaincu; ou, à la ſuite de ſon affreux triomphe, il ne trouvera que des ruines *."

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* There are certain crimes againſt a great Nation, which nothing but generoſity can forgive. The French People diſplayed a proud ſpirit even when they were in ſervitude.

The tragedy of Brutus was acted at one of the theatres, and the people allowed to enter gratis. This could be done with no other view than that of inflaming their minds with republican ideas. Handbills abuſive of the Royal Family were circulated, and a pamphlet entitled "Mémoires du *Ci-devant Roi*" was vociferated through the ſtreets.

The undiſturbed countenance maintained by the National Aſſembly removed the conſternation which, at the firſt news of the King's flight, had filled the minds of many of the citizens. The town of Paris remained in unexpected tranquillity. The

ſervitude. They will now diſplay the virtues and the heroiſm of Liberty. Let the enemies of the Conſtitution be aware of this: To reduce this country again to ſlavery, the nation muſt be annihilated. Let deſpotiſm form that project, if it pleaſes. It will either be defeated, or after its horrible triumph nothing but ruins will be found.

greateſt agitation proceeded from the eagerneſs with which the inhabitants related the circumſtances of the eſcape; for, as all had in a ſhort time received *ſome* account, there were more relaters than liſteners; each endeavouring to ſnatch the narrative out of the mouth of the other, and inſiſting that *her* edition was the moſt genuine. Towards the evening of the 23d, the ſubject began to grow ſtale. It had already maintained its ground as a topic of univerſal converſation ſeveral hours longer than any thing was ever known to have done at Paris. At laſt it appeared to languiſh: other ſubjects of greater novelty began to ſhove it off the tapis; and it is believed by thoſe who were at Paris at the time, that the flight of the Royal Family would have been little ſpoken of on the 25th of June, if the news had not arrived about nine of the evening of the 23d, that they had been ſtopped at Varennes. This was firſt brought to Paris by

M. Mangin,

M. Mangin, the ſurgeon above mentioned. As ſoon as the National Aſſembly had received this intelligence, they decreed that immediate meaſures ſhould be taken for the protection of the King, the Heir of the Throne, and the reſt of the Royal Family; that Meſſrs. Latour-Maubourg, Petion, and Barnave, all members of the National Aſſembly, ſhould ſet out directly to meet them, with full powers to order whatever they ſhould think neceſſary for the ſecurity and accommodation of the Royal Family; the Aſſembly particularly recommending to them to be attentive in preſerving all the reſpect due to the royal dignity. M. Dumas, the Adjutant General of the Army, was ordered to accompany them, and ſee the orders of the Commiſſioners put in execution. The Commiſſioners ſet out with all expedition, and met the Royal Family at Epernay, about twenty miles from Chalons on the ſide next to Paris. Having

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read to the King the decree of the National Aſſembly, the three Commiſſioners placed themſelves in the ſame carriage with the King and the Queen, and proceeded to Meaux. The King's journey from Varennes to Epernay, independent of the circumſtance of its being againſt his will, had been moſt oppreſſive from the exceſſive heat of the weather, from the crowds that flocked round the carriage, and from the ſlowneſs; for, as the Guards were on foot, the horſes were allowed to move no faſter than the ſoldiers could march. But as there ſtill were rumours of the danger of a reſcue, the Commiſſioners, ordering the infantry to remain behind, the Royal Family were attended for the reſt of the journey by cavalry only, by which means their miſery was ſomewhat ſhortened.

As the ſad proceſſion moved through Paris to the Tuileries, the ſtreets were crowded with the populace; ſome of whom

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taking off their hats as the Royal Family approached, the inſulting order "*Chapeau ſur la tête, que perſonne ne ſe decouvre*," was heard, and obeyed *. On the ſeat of the King's carriage the three gardes-du-corps, who had acted as couriers, were ſeated with their arms bound; and the carriage was followed by an open cabriolet, in which Drouet was placed, crowned with laurel.

This was the third time that the Pariſian mob had, within a ſhort period, been gratified with the ſpectacle of their Sovereign dragged as a priſoner through their city; but this was by much the moſt deplorable of the three. Ever ſince the day that Perſeus the laſt king of Macedon and his family were carried through the ſtreets of Rome before the triumphal car of Paulus

* This ſeems to be rather a deviation from the ſpirit of the decree of the Aſſembly, ordaining the Commiſſioners above all things to be attentive that the reſpect due to the royal dignity ſhould be preſerved.

Emilius,

Emilius, no ſcene ſo humiliating to royalty has been exhibited in the world.

Among other differences which may exiſt between the characters of the Roman and the French victors, the former, as hiſtory informs us, was ſo much affected with the fate of the Macedonian Monarch, that he ſhed tears when he firſt received him as a priſoner. No ſimilar weakneſs is recorded of Drouet.

When the unfortunate family of France arrived at the Tuileries, the gardens were full. Some were preſent who had the feelings of men. Turning with ſudden emotion from the ſight of the King and Queen, their eyes fell on the Duke of Orleans; who, in a circle of Deputies at a ſmall diſtance, ſeemed to be a gay ſpectator of the melancholy ſcene.

As the faithful gardes-du-corps were untied from the coach-box, they were threatened with being inſtantly torn in pieces by the

the ſavage fury of the populace. The Commiſſioners were obliged to beg that ſuch an outrage might not be executed before the faces of the Royal Family; but that the criminals might be reſerved for the juſt ſentence of the law. As this was not renouncing but only poſtponihg a pleaſure, the requeſt of the Commiſſioners was granted.

The unhappy family were again lodged in the Tuileries under the reſponſibility of M. de la Fayette. Several tents were pitched in the garden, and all the avenues were occupied by National Guards under his command. He has been greatly cenſured for the ſtrictneſs with which the orders of the Aſſembly were obeyed in this particular. Conſidering the recent eſcape of the Royal Family, the danger which he himſelf had been in, and the ſuſpicions which ſtill exiſted againſt him, it is not ſurpriſing that he ſhould have been as attentive as poſſible to prevent a repetition of the ſame event.

The following day, Commiſſioners appointed by the Aſſembly waited on the King, to take his declaration in writing reſpecting his motives for having withdrawn from the capital.

His Majeſty aſſigned as his principal motives " the inſults he and his family had received, and the danger he conceived them to be in from thoſe inſults not having been puniſhed. That his deſign was not to go out of the kingdom, but only to repair to Montmedi, where he would have been better ſituated than in the capital for oppoſing the attempts of foreign powers, and from whence he could have with eaſe repaired to any other part of the frontiers where his preſence might have been requiſite. That another object he had in view was to aſcertain what the real diſpoſition of the nation was reſpecting the Conſtitution; which had been variouſly repreſented to him, but which he now knew to be decidedly

cidedly in its favour. That he wiſhed to prove to France and all Europe that he was at liberty; and not a priſoner, as was believed by many. That as he had it not in his power to quit Paris publicly, he had left it ſecretly; but without any concert with foreign powers, with his own relations, or any French emigrant. That he had ordered the three perſons who had accompanied him as couriers to provide themſelves with travelling jackets, becauſe they were to be ſent with diſpatches; and that he had not communicated any thing more to them until the day of their departure. That the paſſport was obtained for a foreign country, becauſe there are none given for travelling within the kingdom. That if he had intended to go out of the kingdom, he would not have ordered his Memorial addreſſed to the French Nation to be made public the day after leaving the Tuileries, but would have

The following day, Commiſſioners appointed by the Aſſembly waited on the King, to take his declaration in writing reſpecting his motives for having withdrawn from the capital.

His Majeſty aſſigned as his principal motives " the inſults he and his family had received, and the danger he conceived them to be in from thoſe inſults not having been puniſhed. That his deſign was not to go out of the kingdom, but only to repair to Montmedi, where he would have been better ſituated than in the capital for oppoſing the attempts of foreign powers, and from whence he could have with eaſe repaired to any other part of the frontiers where his preſence might have been requiſite. That another object he had in view was to aſcertain what the real diſpoſition of the nation was reſpecting the Conſtitution; which had been variouſly repreſented to him, but which he now knew to be decidedly

cidedly in its favour. That he wiſhed to prove to France and all Europe that he was at liberty; and not a priſoner, as was believed by many. That as he had it not in his power to quit Paris publicly, he had left it ſecretly; but without any concert with foreign powers, with his own relations, or any French emigrant. That he had ordered the three perſons who had accompanied him as couriers to provide themſelves with travelling jackets, becauſe they were to be ſent with diſpatches; and that he had not communicated any thing more to them until the day of their departure. That the paſſport was obtained for a foreign country, becauſe there are none given for travelling within the kingdom. That if he had intended to go out of the kingdom, he would not have ordered his Memorial addreſſed to the French Nation to be made public the day after leaving the Tuileries, but would have

delayed until he had at leaſt paſſed the frontiers."

In the difficult ſituation in which Lewis was placed, there were more of his well-wiſhers who excuſed than believed every article of this Declaration; by his enemies it was repreſented as a continued prevarication.

The Commiſſioners next waited on the Queen, who likewiſe ſigned a Declaration importing, "that when ſhe ſaw that the King was reſolved to quit the capital with his children, no conſideration would have prevailed on her not to accompany him; but that ſhe did it the more willingly on account of his poſitive aſſurances that he would not go out of the kingdom: that if he had had any ſuch intention, ſhe would have uſed all her influence to have turned him from it." The reſt of her Declaration ſhews her anxiety to exculpate the female

attendants and the couriers, aſſerting that they had no previous knowledge of the deſtination or object of their journey.

When the firſt part of this Declaration was read in the National Aſſembly, ſome of the Deputies burſt into an indecent laugh. Long before the French had any wiſh to become republicans, and to affect roughneſs of manners as ſuitable to that character, many of them had loſt a great part of that decorum and politeneſs for which the nation in general was ſo much diſtinguiſhed. During the interval between the return of the King from Varennes and his acceptance of the Conſtitution, an Officer of the National Guards played at fives one day with the Dauphin to amuſe the child, in the preſence of the Queen. The Officer ſtriking the ball obliquely, it had very near hit her; on which, by way of apology, he politely exclaimed, " Eh, mon Dieu! ma

boule va tout de travers comme l'ancien regime."

The queſtion, whether the King was ſubject to trial or puniſhment, was under diſcuſſion at this period all over France, but particularly in the capital. The humiliating ſtate in which the King had been exhibited to the eyes of the populace, from the time he was arreſted at Varennes until his return to Paris, had tended more to lower their eſteem than to raiſe their compaſſion for their unfortunate ſovereign; and great pains had been taken to repreſent his flight as a proof of his profound diſſimulation, as a breach of the oath he had taken to ſupport the Conſtitution, and as a ſtrong preſumption of his intention to join the foreign forces and the emigrants who were ſuppoſed to be then preparing to invade France. *Le Roi, peut-il être mis en jugement?* became the univerſal topic of diſcourſe, and a queſtion on which every

every ſcribbler thought he had as good a right to publiſh *ſon opinion*, as any Member of the National Aſſembly. On the whole the voices went greatly againſt the King. Some enthuſiaſts thought the exiſtence of any degree of freedom in France depended on his being immediately dethroned. Others who cared little about the matter, joined from mere wantonneſs in the clamour; which, as it was agreeable to the wiſhes, was ſuppoſed to be encouraged and excited by the adherents of the Duke of Orleans, who expected that he would be appointed Regent during the minority of the Dauphin; for, even on the ſuppoſition of Lewis the Sixteenth being diveſted of the crown, there was hardly any idea of its not being immediately placed on the head of another.

Republican principles had made little progreſs at this period in France. But

there happened to be a ſmall band of determined republicans in the capital; the moſt diſtinguiſhed were the Marquis of Condorcet, Briſſot, and Thomas Paine; none of them were Members of the Conſtituent Aſſembly. Thoſe men thought the preſent moment favourable for ſpreading their opinions; and were not without hopes that they might improve the preſent rage for the *déchéance* into a paſſion for a republican form of government. With this view they formed themſelves into a ſociety, and publiſhed a periodical paper to which all occaſionally contributed, entitled *Le Républicain*, ou *Le Défenſeur du Gouvernement Repréſentatif.* In the very firſt number of this work they unfold their deſign with the greateſt openneſs; obſerving that the calmneſs in which the inhabitants of Paris had remained during the abſence of the King was a proof " que l'abſence d'un Roi vaut

mieux

mieux que ſa préſence, et qu'il n'eſt pas ſeulement une ſuperfluité politique, mais encore un fardeau très-lourd qui peſe ſur toute la nation.

" Il a abdiqué, il a déſerté ſon poſte dans le gouvernement. L'abdication, la déſertion ſont caractériſées, non par la longueur de l'abſence, mais par le ſeul acte de la fuite; ici l'acte eſt tout, et le temps n'eſt rien. Nous ne le connoiſſons plus que comme un individu dans la foule, comme M. Louis Bourbon."

Soon after the appearance of this paper, the famous Abbé Sieyes publiſhed ſome anſwers to the arguments adduced in it, and declared his intention of ſupporting what he calls " l'Opinion Monarchique contre le Syſtême Républicain." All the Abbé's celebrity for metaphyſical acuteneſs did not intimidate Thomas Paine from accepting the challenge, declaring that he was ſo convinced of the ſuperiority of his own ſyſtem, that

that he would occupy no more than fifty pages in proving it, leaving his antagoniſt the liberty of taking as many pages as he pleaſed to refute his arguments *. It is not known whether it was the ſucceeding events of the Revolution, or the arguments of Thomas Paine, that had moſt influence with the Abbé; but it is certain that he has renounced l'Opinion Monarchique, and is now devoted to the Syſtême Républicain, to which it is not doubted that he will adhere, until events as extraordinary or arguments more powerful convince him of his preſent error, and oblige him to return to his ancient creed.

In a paper written by Condorcet, he endeavours to refute that juſt and powerful argument in favour of monarchical government, namely, that a legal King is the beſt

* The papers written by Thomas Paine for this work were tranſlated into French by the Marchioneſs of Condorcet.

ſecurity

ſecurity againſt a tyrant; becauſe a power that is underſtood and is limited by the articles of the Conſtitution is leſs formidable than the uſurped and undefined power of ambitious citizens; and alſo becauſe the aſcertained power of a hereditary King is the moſt effectual means of precluding their hopes and ſtopping their ambitious views. Among other arguments to prove that there is leſs danger of this now than there was in the days of Sylla and Cæſar, of Guiſe or Cromwell, he inſiſts that the art of printing, the liberty of the preſs, and the great number of newſpapers, will with certainty preſerve mankind from ſimilar uſurpations in future. "Pour tout homme qui a lu avec attention," ſaid Condorcet, "l'hiſtoire de l'uſurpation de Cromwel, il eſt évident qu'une ſeule gazette eut ſuffi pour en arrêter le ſuccès; il eſt évident que ſi le peuple d'Angleterre eût ſu lire d'autres livres que la Bible, l'hypocrite, démaſqué dès ſes premiers

miers pas, eut bientôt ceſſé d'être dange-reux*."

The unhappy Condorcet lived to ſee this argument refuted by Roberſpierre, who, in ſpite of all the newſpapers in France, uſurped deſpotic power, ſhed more blood than all the French Kings ſince Charles IX. and whoſe tyranny was not put an end to by the art of printing.

Briſſot was not ſo elegant a writer as Condorcet, but with leſs genius he poſſeſſed more ardour in the cauſe in which he engaged. His love of freedom, as he himſelf hints, he caught in his early youth from the converſation of Engliſhmen. "Le hazard amena deux Anglois dans ma patrie; j'ap-

* It is evident to every man who has read with attention the hiſtory of the uſurpation of Cromwell, that a ſingle newſpaper would have prevented its ſucceſs. Had the Engliſh of thoſe days been in the habit of reading other books beſides the Bible, the hypocrite would have been unmaſked and no longer dangerous.

pris

pris l'Anglois, et cette circonſtance à decidé de mon ſort *."

His mind was fired with admiration of the ancient republics; but having little expectation of ſeeing his favourite ſyſtem eſtabliſhed in France, he went to America, with a view to examine whether he could find a tolerable eſtabliſhment there, and in the intention of carrying his wife and family to that country if he found a ſituation to his mind. The Revolution began in this interval. He immediately returned to France; and, unfortunately for him, abandoning the project of carrying his family to America, he endeavoured with all poſſible aſſiduity to diffuſe among his own countrymen thoſe principles and ſentiments which were confirmed in his mind by his reſidence in America. Briſſot was more formed for ſpeculation than for action; and from a

* Reponſe de Jacques-Pierre Briſſot à tous les Libelliſtes qui ont attaqué et attaquent ſa Vie paſſée.

want

want of experience he did not give proper weight to the difficulties that ſtood in the way of the plans to which his affections were attached, and with which his imagination was enamoured. Had he adhered to his early deſign, which he himſelf informs us was to " inoculer aux François les principes de la Conſtitution Angloiſe*," he would have applied his talents and induſtry in ſupport of the Conſtitution 1789; but he imagined that the flight of the King and the diſpoſition of the people rendered the immediate eſtabliſhment of a republic in France practicable. He therefore joined his efforts with thoſe of others, to convince the nation that the beſt meaſure they could adopt would be the abolition of royalty; for that, in preſerving it, they ſhould riſk a thouſand dangers in caſe they would re-eſtabliſh Lewis XVI. And in one of his publications he reaſoned in this manner: " If Lewis XVI.

* Reponſe de Jacques-Pierre Briſſot, &c. &c.

is

is re-placed on the throne, the Nation will fall into anarchy; for nobody will obey him, *car il a perdu la confiance de la Nation.* If you place another on the throne, and confine him as a priſoner, this will be thought cruel, you will be conſidered as barbarians: if you allow him to be at liberty, he will fly the kingdom, will be followed by many, and the ſame ſcenes will commence in France that filled England with blood during the diſpute between the White Roſe and the Red—a war about two individuals, in which the people had no intereſt, waged in a cauſe the moſt abſurd; for what can be more abſurd than for one half of a nation to ſlaughter the other, to decide whether one man or another ſhould be placed in an office which no man ſhould be allowed to occupy?" Briſſot concludes his reaſoning with theſe words: " N'ayez plus de Roi, et les mécontens ne peuvent s'attacher à aucun nom; et ils deviennent

odieux à toute la terre, en voulant donner un tyran à une nation qui n'en veut pas."

All the efforts of the Republicans were fruitleſs. The people in general had no idea that ſo extenſive a nation as France could be governed without a King. All their notions of government were engrafted on monarchy.

Roberſpierre himſelf was not a republican. At this very period, while he harangued in the Aſſembly againſt the King's inviolability, and was eager for bringing him to trial, he ſpoke in the Jacobin Society againſt a republic; and he was the perſonal enemy of the moſt diſtinguiſhed republicans. Others who like him declared at once againſt the King and a republic, were ſuppoſed to have been gained by the Duke of Orleans's agents, with a view to his being declared Regent during the minority of Lewis XVII.; but no ſuſpicion of this kind adhered to Roberſpierre. With little

taſte

taſte for pleaſures or magnificence, he deſpiſed money: power was his object, and popularity the only means by which he expected to obtain it. No man's external appearance was ever leſs calculated for aſſiſting his deſire of popularity. The perſon of Robeſpierre was puny, his viſage pale, his features diſagreeable, and he had the menacing eye and rapid gait of a madman. During a conſiderable period of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, he had been little diſtinguiſhed. It was not until after the death of Mirabeau, and about the period of which we are now treating, that he found himſelf a man of any conſiderable importance, and that his views of ambition began to extend. The reſtoration of Lewis XVI gave him no hopes of being placed in any ſituation of authority. He knew that the King diſliked him, that the Queen deſpiſed him, and that he was hated by the whole Court. He therefore ardently wiſhed the depoſition of

the King, and joined with the partiſans of the Duke of Orleans and the republicans in promoting that meaſure: but he did not wiſh to ſee the Duke of Orleans Regent; becauſe he knew that thoſe who had been long attached to that Prince, ſome of them men of eminent talents, would be preferred to him, and that he could expect under *his* regency only a ſubordinate ſituation. Nor did he wiſh for the eſtabliſhment of a republic, unleſs he could have had hopes of governing it; and he ſaw Condorcet, Genſonet, Guadet, Vergniaud, Briſſot, Kerſaint, and others in his way, which determined him to oppoſe the republican ſyſtem both by his ſpeeches in the Jacobin Club and in ſome pamphlets which he publiſhed. If the King had been depoſed after his return from Varennes, it is ſuppoſed that Robeſpierre and others connected with him had expectations from the appointment of a regency in which the Duke of Orleans

 would

would have had no ſhare. But after the King was re-eſtabliſhed, and had accepted the Conſtitution; after the Conſtituent Aſſembly was diſſolved, and the Legiſlative Aſſembly, of which Robeſpierre could not be a member, convened; he became more aſſiduous than ever in his attendance at the Jacobin Club, and in uſing every poſſible means of increaſing his popularity, as the ſole foundation on which the power he ſo ardently deſired could be built. With an arrogant mind which ſpurned the common people, nobody ever flattered and cajoled them ſo much; nobody ever adapted his language and behaviour ſo much to their paſſions and prejudices; nobody ever ſeemed ſo obſequious to their will, and ſo anxious for their welfare. He ſeldom ventured to give any new or untried impulſe to the multitude. He watched until they had received it from circumſtances, or from thoſe who were leſs circumſpect than himſelf; but when he clearly

ſaw which way the torrent of their paſſions bore, he joined with oſtentatious zeal, became the moſt violent of the violent, and took the direction of the ſtorm from thoſe who had raiſed it. After the 10th of Auguſt 1792, he for the firſt time became an avowed and furious republican. His influence in the Jacobin Club was then unrivalled; and, by redoubling his aſſiduity and his artful management, it ſoon became equal even in the new Common Council of Paris to that of Danton, who was its creator, and the governing ſpirit by which the cataſtrophe of that day was accompliſhed.

Robeſpierre from that time became more daring and more atrocious. There is no doubt of his being the chief mover of the maſſacres in September; that he tried to get Briſſot and others of the Gironde party arreſted and involved in them; for they were then the great objects of his jealouſy, and had for ſome time the honour of ſharing with

with the King and Queen that abuſe which daily flowed from the pen of Marat and other creatures of Robeſpierre. By his influence and their calumnies, not one of the Briſſotine party was elected as member of the Convention for the department of Paris; nor indeed any one man without his approbation.

There is reaſon to believe that Louvet's accuſation was juſt, that Robeſpierre was ſo intoxicated with his popularity as to have entertained hopes of being appointed Dictator; and that Marat and Panis, by his connivance, ſounded Barbaroux of Marſeilles and Rebecqui on the ſubject about the time when the Convention firſt aſſembled. The popularity of Robeſpierre at that period, however, was pretty much confined to the department of Paris. The vaſt majority of the Deputies came to the Convention ſtrongly prejudiced againſt him, and with a high opinion of the integrity of Roland, and

of the talents and patriotiſm of the Gironde party; for two or three months after the firſt meeting of the Convention, any perſon who attended that Aſſembly would have been perſuaded that Robeſpierre and his moſt active adherents were ſo much the object of its deteſtation, that he had no chance of ever having influence in it. By his influence with the Jacobins, the Municipality, and the Mob, and with the aſſiſtance of a minority of the Deputies, he forced on the King's trial, and then had the addreſs to make the unwillingneſs which the Gironde party ſhewed to that meaſure, and even their popular propoſal of an appeal to the people, matter of accuſation againſt them, and the cauſe of their ruin. Having now devolved the command of the National Guards of Paris on a creature of his own, he imperceptibly obtained an irreſiſtible ſway in the Committee of Public Safety. Being ſupported by the Municipa-

lity

lity and the Jacobin Clubs; never once yielding to pecuniary corruption, or ſhocking the eyes of the populace with perſonal magnificence; turning the talents and crimes of others to the purpoſes of his own ambition; cutting off his moſt confidential friends without remorſe, when he became in the leaſt jealous of them; having by wonderful addreſs found means to have creatures of his own appointed Commiſſioners to moſt of the Departments; and the mob of Paris being always under the management of his agents; he at laſt obtained his object, the Convention was the paſſive organ of his will, and Robeſpierre was the Dictator of the French republic. But, after having drenched every department of France with blood, he became giddy by the exerciſe of power, forgot his original caution, and, by filling his very aſſociates with terror, obliged them to be his executioners, that they might not become his victims.

CHAPTER XXVII.

A curious Account of Petion by Robeſpierre—M. Barnave—Tumultuous aſſembling in the Champ de Mars—Two Perſons maſſacred by the Mob—M. La Fayette, at the Head of the National Guards, attacks and diſperſes the Mob—Danton—Camille Deſmoulins—Marat—Charlotte Cordé—Reflections—Diſſolution of the Conſtituent Aſſembly.

TO give at once an idea of the character and conduct of Robeſpierre, it was neceſſary to allude to events that happened long after the period of which we were treating, and to which it is now neceſſary to revert.

When it was evident that a republican form of government was unpopular, that the periodical paper called Républicain, and all the efforts of the few republicans then at Paris,

Paris, made little impreſſion, Briſſot publiſhed a new propoſal, which was adopted by ſome Members of the National Aſſembly, and obtained the approbation of many more of the Jacobin Club; namely, that ſince it ſeemed to be determined to re-eſtabliſh royalty, the King ought to have a Council, not of his own chooſing, nor of the National Aſſembly's appointment, but to be elected by the Electors of the Deputies, and to be renewed annually according to a plan which he publiſhed. Briſſot concludes his propoſal with this expreſſion: "En un mot, point de Roi, ou un Roi avec un Conſeil électif et amovible. Telle eſt en deux mots ma profeſſion de foi *."

The great error of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, and which they were led into by the dread of a return of the ancient ſyſtem,

* In a word, no King at all; or a King with an elective and removable Council; ſuch is my profeſſion of faith.

was

was that of leaving monarchy too weak to reſiſt the force that was likely to aſſail it; but this plan of Briſſot tended to render it ridiculous as well as weak, and expoſed it to be overſet by the firſt attack, which in all probability was his intention. This plan however was no better received than his avowed project for immediately eſtabliſhing a republic.

In the mean time M. Muguet de Nanthou made a report relative to the King's eſcape, in the name of the Committees appointed by the Aſſembly. In this report they give an opinion in favour of the King's inviolability; and that of courſe he ought not to undergo a trial. Immediately after hearing this report, the National Aſſembly began a debate, which was reſumed every day for three days on that ſubject. It would ſeem not to require above three minutes deliberation; for theſe obvious reaſons, that the Conſtitution rendered the perſon

ſon of the Monarch inviolable; and determined beſides, that in caſe the King ſhould ever withdraw from the kingdom, and actually reſide in an enemy's territories, he ſhould be formally ſummoned to return; and that only in the event of his refuſing to comply with the ſummons, he was to be declared to have abdicated the Crown. To have brought the King to trial, therefore, on the preſent occaſion, would have betrayed a diſregard of all principle; and ſhewn that the Conſtitution, which they had beſtowed ſuch pains in rearing, was built upon a bank of ſand, to be waſhed away by the firſt torrent that ſhould iſſue from the kennels of the ſuburbs of St. Antoine.

Robeſpierre and Petion were the moſt violent againſt the King during this debate. Thoſe two men ſtarted together in a race of popularity, which it might have been expected would have produced a little joſtling between them. Hitherto however nothing

of

of that nature had occurred; Robeſpierre thought too meanly of the talents of Petion to be jealous of him; he even beheld him at one period get ſomewhat before him on the courſe without uneaſineſs. It was not in Robeſpierre's nature to have a friendſhip for any body; but he deſpiſed Petion too much to hate him, until Briſſot, who had been long the object of Robeſpierre's jealouſy and hatred, drew him over to the Gironde party. He then honoured his old companion with a little of the rancour which he felt for all that faction.

This appeared firſt in the month of October 1792, when Petion endeavoured in a laborious pamphlet to refute ſeveral accuſations of Robeſpierre againſt him; and one in particular, which ſeems to have hurt him exceedingly, namely, that he was entirely led by Briſſot. To this Robeſpierre wrote an anſwer; and as he there appears in a new point of view, and diſplays a conſiderable

ſiderable ſhare of humour, of which it was not natural to ſuppoſe ſuch a man poſſeſſed, a few ſpecimens may be excuſable.

In Petion's pamphlet he repreſents Briſſot as a man only in knowledge, but a child in ſimplicity: "Que Briſſot eſt l'homme le moins propre à être chef de parti *." To this Robeſpierre anſwers—"On ne conſulte point le diſciple ſur la capacité de ſon maître. Orgon eſt-il compétent pour juger Tartuffe †?" Petion, ſolicitous to remove an imputation which cruelly corroded his vanity, frequently repeats—"Jamais homme en place ne penſa et n'agit par lui-même autant que moi."

"Mon cher Petion," ſays Robeſpierre, "vous vous calomniez vous-même quand

* Briſſot is the man on earth the leaſt fit for being the leader of a party.

† The ſcholar is not conſulted reſpecting the capacity of his maſter. Was Orgon a competent judge of the character of Tartuffe?

vous prétendez que vous n'êtes mené par perſonne ; peut-être même vous l'êtes-vous perſuadé de bonne foi : mais il n'en eſt rien, je vous jure. Le ſait-on quand on eſt mené ? Voyez encore ce qui ſe paſſe ſur nos théâtres. Lorſqu'une adroite ſoubrette, ou un valet intriguant, conduit un Geronte, ou un Orgon, comme par la liſière ; ne voyez-vous pas avec quel art les frippons s'extaſient ſur la rare ſageſſe et ſur l'incroyable fermeté du bon homme, et comme celui-ci s'écrie, dans les éclats de la joie bruyante, Oh ! je ſais bien qu'on ne me mene pas, moi ; et s'il y a une forte tête en France, je vous garantis que c'eſt celle-ci*."

Robeſ-

* My dear Petion, you calumniate yourſelf when you pretend that you are led by nobody. Perhaps you even believe it ; but you are quite miſtaken, I will take my oath. But do people know when they are led ? Only obſerve what paſſes on our theatres. When a ſly chambermaid or a knaviſh valet leads a Geronte or an Orgon

Robeſpierre then aſſures his old friend that there is a wonderful reſemblance between this portrait of Geronte and Petion himſelf; to prove which he aſſerts, that, after Briſſot and ſome others had arranged the adminiſtration, of which Roland and Claviere were the chiefs, he had directly gone to Petion, and, on the pretence of conſulting him on the ſubject, had ſaid, Well, whom do you think we ſhould name for Miniſters? How would you like Roland and Claviere?—would not they be exactly to your mind? continued Briſſot. "Parbleu! oui!" anſwered Petion; "Oh, Roland, Claviere! ſavez-vous que ce ſeroit

gon as if it were in leading-ſtrings, don't you ſee with what art the two former extol the wonderful wiſdom and incredible firmneſs of the poor man? while he, in the midſt of their noiſy joy, cries—I am pretty certain that I am not a man to be led; and if there is a ſteady head in France, it is this on my ſhoulders.

délicieux!

délicieux ! qu'on les nomme *." Briſſot then aſſured him that he would endeavour to bring it about exactly as Petion had appointed.

Soon after which, continues Robeſpierre, " je vous ai vu dans la ferme croyance que c'étoit vous qui les aviez choiſis. Comme je vous demandois ſi cette demarche de la Cour ne vous étoit pas ſuſpecte, vous me repondites, avec un air de contentement très remarquable : ' Oh ! ſi vous ſaviez qui les a deſignés !' Je vous devinai, et je vous dis, en riant de votre bonne foi—' C'eſt vous, peut-être ?' Et alors en vous frottant les mains,—' Hem, Hem !' me repondites-vous †."

In

* Roland and Claviere ! that would be charming—let them be appointed by all means.

† I ſaw that you were in the firm conviction that it was you who had choſen them. When I aſked you if that meaſure of the Court did not ſtrike you as a little ſuſpicious,

In this ſame letter Robeſpierre aſſerts that Petion, by the feebleneſs of his conduct, had prevented the inſurrection of the 20th of June 1792 from being as deciſive as that of the 10th of Auguſt; and that the Court, and particularly the King, had totally miſtaken his character. "Le gros Louis XVI," ſays he, in his abuſive language, "crut voir un rival dans un Maire de Paris Jacobin; mais Céſar auroit dit, en contemplant votre viſage épanoui par un rire éternel, 'Ce ne ſera pas celui-là qui m'arrachera l'empire *."

As

ſuſpicious? you anſwered with an air of extraordinary ſatisfaction—"Ah! if you but knew who it was that pointed them out!"——Perceiving what you meant, and laughing at your credulity, I then ſaid, "It was you, perhaps?"—on which, rubbing your hands together, you nodded aſſent.

* The plump Lewis thought he ſaw a rival in a Jacobin Mayor of Paris; but Cæſar would have ſaid, on contemplating your face, ſpread with an eternal ſmile,

As an apology for the freedom he takes with his old friend, Robeſpierre obſerves—"Si, dans ce genre d'eſcrime tout-à-fait philanthropique, vous étiez expoſé à quelque legère bleſſure, elle n'atteindroit que votre amour propre: et vous m'avez raſſuré d'avance la-deſſus, en proteſtant vous-même qu'il étoit nul *."

Through the whole of this letter there runs a vein of pleaſantry which might have been thought inconſiſtent with the ſaturnine temper and atrocious mind of Robeſpierre. After all the ridicule, however, which he endeavours to throw on Petion, thoſe who knew him equally well, and are leſs prejudiced, repreſent him as a man of conſi-

"It will not be this man who will tear the empire from me."

* If in this diſpute, which is entirely philanthropic, you ſhould be expoſed to ſome ſlight blows, they will be aimed at your vanity; and you have put me quite at eaſe, my dear Petion, on that head, by declaring yourſelf that you have none.

derable

derable learning, though not ſo much as he wiſhed the world to believe; of ſome eloquence, but by no means ſo much as he believed himſelf; of ſome judgment, though a much ſmaller portion than he imagined; whereas he really poſſeſſed a very comfortable ſhare of vanity, of which it appears he was perſuaded that he had none at all.

This character may be thought perhaps ſingular; yet it is wonderful what a number of people reſemble Petion. As for Robeſpierre, it is to be hoped that there is not ſuch another man in the world.

Independent of the influence which Robeſpierre had over Petion at the period of which we were treating, another circumſtance is ſuppoſed to have contributed to the violent part he took againſt the King during the three days which this debate laſted. It was mentioned above that M. Barnave was a joint Commiſſioner with Petion from the Aſſembly to meet the Royal

Family on their return from Varennes; and it was remarked that the King gave ſuch a marked preference to the former as greatly offended the latter.

M. Barnave was a young man of very promiſing talents; the applauſe beſtowed on his ſpeeches in the National Aſſembly and the Jacobin Society, with the impetuoſity of his temper, rendered him ſelf-ſufficient. Eloquence being that in which he chiefly excelled, he conſidered it as the principal talent of a ſtateſman; and was apt to undervalue men of more mature and juſter ideas than his own, becauſe they could not expreſs them ſo well. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his violence againſt the Miniſters and the Court on various occaſions in the Aſſembly, and would in all likelihood have entirely joined the republican party, had not his zeal been reſtrained by Mirabeau, whom he greatly admired, and who a little before his laſt illneſs had become

come convinced that the democratic ſpirit threatened the deſtruction of even that limited monarchy which he preferred to any other form of government, and which he was determined to maintain.

The Queen was not unacquainted with theſe intentions of Mirabeau, nor with the influence he had poſſeſſed over the mind of Barnave. The affecting point of view in which he ſaw the Royal Family, the flattering attention and powerful addreſs of the Queen, joined to the impreſſion which Mirabeau had already made, entirely converted Barnave. He ſided with Liancour, Malouet, Alexander Lameth, Adrien Duport, and thoſe who ſpoke for the re-eſtabliſhing of the King; and repelled the arguments of Robeſpierre, Petion, Buzot, and others, with energy and ſucceſs. It was finally decreed that the King ſhould not be farther queſtioned reſpecting what was paſſed, and

that the Conſtitution ſhould be accompliſhed as was at firſt intended.

This deciſion of the Aſſembly was too wiſe and liberal to be approved of by the multitude. It occaſioned ſuch a general clamour as revived the hopes of the republicans, who thought that by improving the preſent diſcontents the revolution might after all finiſh in the accompliſhment of their favourite ſyſtem of government. In their efforts to inſtigate the people to tumult they were aſſiſted by the agents of the Duke of Orleans; though theſe laſt certainly gave their aſſiſtance in the hope of a different termination.

The ſquares and public gardens were filled with groups of people, to whom certain well-known orators, called motion-makers, harangued againſt the conduct of the National Aſſembly. Robeſpierre coming out of the hall found the ſtreet filled

with thoſe groups; who ſpreading around the patriot as ſoon as they obſerved him— "*Alas! my friends*," he was heard to ſay, "*all is ruined; the King is to be reſtored.*" This was repeated all over Paris, as an unanſwerable proof that the Aſſembly were traitors, and the country undone. The theatres were ſhut as in the times of public calamity. The multitude afterwards reſorted to the Champ de Mars, with a Declaration or Petition, of which many copies were made, and the people invited to ſign it on the Altar of Confederation, which ſtill ſtood in that field. This Declaration announced "that the ſubſcribers thought, that in queſtions comprehending the general ſafety of the people it was their duty to expreſs their wiſhes to the national repreſentatives. That, in their opinion, the King by his late deſertion had palſied the government and broken his oath. That this deſertion and perjury, beſides other criminal

acts which preceded, accompanied, and followed them, implied an abdication of the crown. That it was unbecoming of the majesty of the French nation to entrust its government in the hands of a perjured person, a traitor, and a fugitive." It concludes with a formal demand "that the National Assembly will sanction by their Decree the abdication of the government executed by Lewis the Sixteenth on the 21st of June;" and a declaration "that the subscribers will never acknowledge him for their King, unless the majority of the nation should express a wish different from theirs."

It appeared that the leaders of two different factions were engaged in the fabrication of this Address to the Assembly; for in some copies, after the declaration never to acknowledge Lewis XVI. for their King, the words *nor any other* were inserted. This was probably done by some of the republicans; but, as it was not agreeable to the

opinion

opinion of the great majority even of thoſe who wiſhed the dethronement of the preſent King, the words were eraſed. When the National Aſſembly heard of thoſe proceedings, they ordered the Municipal Officers of Paris to their bar, and directed them to take meaſures for diſperſing theſe tumultuous aſſemblies, and puniſhing their promoters.

The firſt meaſure which the Municipality adopted was to iſſue a proclamation, importing, that, as it was diſcovered that ſtrangers paid by the enemies of France to ſow ſedition and promote inſurrection had drawn numbers to aſſemble under the pretence of ſigning a petition, but with the real intention of overawing the Legiſlature and ruining the Nation, orders had been given to the Commander of the National Guards to diſperſe all groups in the ſtreets, or aſſemblings in the fields, and to ſeize the diſobedient and carry them to priſon.

There

There unqueſtionably were no ſtrangers at this time in Paris paid by foreign Powers for the purpoſe aſſigned in the proclamation; but ſuch accuſations are often proclaimed by thoſe who know their falſehood, on purpoſe to render the meaſures againſt which the proclamation is iſſued the more unpopular.

The proclamation had little effect. Vaſt numbers crowded to the Champ de Mars to ſign the declaration. The fury of the multitude augmented with their numbers. Women as well as men aſcended the altar to ſubſcribe their names; and though it could hardly be ſuppoſed that any of the former who attended on ſuch an occaſion were much worth looking at, yet two unfortunate men, one a ſoldier with a wooden leg, the other a hair-dreſſer, had the raſh curioſity to place themſelves under the boards which formed the floor of the altar, to contemplate thoſe who aſcended.

They

They were ſoon diſcovered, dragged forth by the mob, and carried before a Judge of the Section; who, thinking their conduct deſerved *ſome* puniſhment, ordered them to be impriſoned; but as they were on the way, ſome of the rabble obſerved that they muſt have been hired by ariſtocrates to ſecrete themſelves under the altar, with no other deſign than that of blowing up all the patriots male and female it contained; and that if a narrow examination of the ground were made, barrels of gunpowder would undoubtedly be found near the place. This reaſoning was ſo ſatisfactory, that all farther proof or inveſtigation was thought unneceſſary. The two priſoners were directly hung upon the neareſt lanthorn, and their heads afterwards cut off, and ſtuck upon pikes according to cuſtom. What ſeemed particular was, that they were directly carried to the Palais Royal, and marched in proceſſion before the windows.

When

When the Municipality heard of thoſe murders, they gave orders that M. La Fayette ſhould directly march at the head of a ſufficient number of the National Guards to the Champ de Mars, and, being accompanied by ſome Municipal Officers, uſe every legal and effectual means to ſeize the murderers and diſperſe the inſurgents. Martial law at the ſame time was formally proclaimed; and a red flag was diſplayed from the window of the Town-houſe. When theſe troops arrived at the Champ de Mars, they found it crowded by a furious multitude, who, inſtead of diſperſing, inſulted the troops with repeated exclamations, "A bas le drapeau rouge, à bas les bayonnettes," and even by throwing ſtones. M. Bailly the Mayor deſired the troops to halt; and, after the formalities which the law required, M. La Fayette ordered part of them to fire over the heads of the mob. When they perceived that none were wounded, it confirmed

firmed them in an opinion which their inſtigators had inſpired them with, that neither the General nor the Mayor had any inclination to hurt them, and that they durſt not fire with ball. From this idea they became more outrageous: the ſoldiers and ſome of the officers of the National Guards were wounded. The troops fired upon their aggreſſors, of whom between 60 and 70 were killed or wounded. The multitude then fled into the city, exclaiming againſt the General and Mayor for having ordered innocent perſons to be maſſacred; and they endeavoured to inſtigate the citizens againſt the National Guards and thoſe who commanded them. The citizens, however, lent a deaf ear to thoſe clamours, ſhutting their ſhops againſt the multitude as they paſſed to the ſuburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, where moſt of them reſided. The open and avowed exciters of this inſurrection immediately diſappeared. Dan-

ton,

ton, hearing that an order was iſſued for arreſting him, fled to Marſeilles. Camille Deſmoulins followed his example. This perſon had uncommon claims for popularity. On the memorable day on which the Prince of Lambeſc attacked the people at the Pont Tournant, Camille Deſmoulins mounted on a table in the Palais Royal, and encouraged them to take arms. Since that time he had ſupported the popular cauſe by his ſpeeches in the clubs, and by his writings not entirely devoid of wit, and generally full of that kind of coarſe pleaſantry which is reliſhed by the common people. Danton and he were at this time attached to Robeſpierre, who pretended much friendſhip for both. They had the guilt of concurring with him in the maſſacre of the Deputies of the Gironde; but afterwards, when that perfidious man became jealous of Danton, and found Camille leſs pliable to his will than he wiſhed, he contrived to have both publicly executed.

Others

Others of leſs eminence lurked in Paris. Marat betook himſelf to a ſubterranean habitation which had been prepared for him by Le Gendre the butcher, which had ſerved to ſecrete him from juſtice on various occaſions both before and ſince the period we are now treating of. It is much to be regretted that he was not dug out and executed on this occaſion. It would have prevented a great deal of miſchief of which he was afterwards the cauſe; and he would have died with more propriety by the hand of the hangman, than by that of the extraordinary and moſt intereſting woman who gave him the mortal blow *.

Laclos

* Marie Charlotte Cordé was a beautiful young woman of an unblemiſhed character, diſtinguiſhed for dignity of ſentiment and benevolence of heart; but who had never given cauſe of ſuſpicion of a diſturbed underſtanding, nor, until ſhe ſtruck a poniard into the heart of Marat, any indication of a violent temper.

She was not prompted to this raſh action by any perſonal

Laclos and Briſſot had alſo promoted this inſurrection, but not ſo openly as thoſe above

perſonal indignity offered to herſelf, by rage, by love, by jealouſy, by religious enthuſiaſm, or any of thoſe incitements which alone have been thought capable of urging women to ſuch deeds. She ſaw her country in calamitous circumſtances; ſhe dreaded their increaſe from the wickedneſs of one man whom the law could not reach; ſhe was convinced that by killing him ſhe would be of more ſervice to her country than by all the exertions of a long life. "I killed one man," ſhe declared at her trial, "to ſave a hundred thouſand." She formed her deſign coolly, without entruſting any mortal with her intention: ſhe undertook a long journey to accompliſh it: ſhe weighed all its conſequences: ſhe calculated on death, and in a more dreadful ſhape than that in which ſhe afterwards met with it; ſhe expected to be torn in pieces by the mob, or that her body would be dragged through the ſtreets. The idea of thoſe horrors did not ſhake the ſteadineſs of her mind. She looked for no recompenſe but in the reflection of having prevented the death of thouſands, and the miſery of tens of thouſands. She was allowed an advocate to aſſiſt her at her trial. M. Chauveau, when the

above mentioned, and certainly with views very different from each other. Laclos and others

the evidence was finiſhed, pronounced the following brief ſpeech to the Jury: "L'accuſée avoue avec ſang-froid l'attentat qu'elle a commis; elle en avoue la longue préméditation; elle en avoue les circonſtances; en un mot, elle avoue tout, et ne cherche pas même à ſe juſtifier. Voilà, Citoyens Jurés, ſa défenſe toute entiere. Ce calme imperturbable, et cette entiere abnégation de ſoi-même, qui n'annoncent aucuns remords, et pour ainſi dire en préſence de la mort même; ce calme, et cette abnégation ſublime ſous un rapport, ne ſont pas dans la nature; ils ne peuvent s'expliquer que par l'exaltation du fanatiſme politique qui lui a mis le poignard à la main, et c'eſt à vous, Citoyens Jurés, à juger de quel poids doit être cette conſidération morale dans la balance de la juſtice *."

The

* The priſoner acknowledges the act of which ſhe is accuſed; ſhe acknowledges that ſhe had long premeditated it; ſhe acknowledges the various circumſtances; in ſhort, ſhe acknowledges the whole accuſation, and takes no pains to juſtify herſelf. In this, Gentlemen of the Jury, lies her entire defence. This aſtoniſhing calmneſs, this total abnegation of ſelf, which betrays no remorſe even in the very preſence of death; this calm and this abnegation ſeem not to be in nature; they cannot be accounted for, but on

others attached to the Duke of Orleans wiſhed the depoſition of the King, that their

The Jury unanimouſly found her guilty. Sentence of death was pronounced. She then addreſſed M. Chauveau to this effect: "Sir, you have ſpoken in my defence in delicate and generous terms: it was the only ſtyle proper for me. I thank you. It has inſpired me with eſteem for you, of which I will give you a proof. The Judges have informed me that my goods are confiſcated. I am indebted for ſome things at the priſon. I charge you to acquit that debt."

A little before her execution, a Confeſſor was introduced to her, and offered his ſervices. She thanked him, and expreſſed a ſenſe of obligation to thoſe who had ſent him; but ſaid ſhe had no need of his ſervices.

When the officers entered her chamber to conduct her to death, ſhe mildly begged to be excuſed for a few minutes until ſhe had finiſhed the letter ſhe was then writing to her father.

The populace, in ſpite of their prejudice in favour of Marat, were ſo ſtruck with her undaunted deportment, that

the ſuppoſition that political fanaticiſm put the poniard into her hand; and it belongs to you, Gentlemen of the Jury, to determine what weight that conſideration ſhould have in the ſcale of juſtice.

their patron might be declared Regent, and that they themſelves might of courſe obtain ſituations of power and emolument during the young King's minority. Briſſot, who abhorred the Duke of Orleans, promoted this ſeditious petition, in the hopes that the eſtabliſhment of a republic would be the immediate effect of the King's being depoſed.

This aſſembly in the Champ de Mars, under the pretence of ſigning a petition for the purpoſe of depoſing the King at the

that they did not, according to their cuſtom, inſult her as ſhe was carried to execution. She occaſionally ſmiled as ſhe paſſed; and by that alone ſhewed that ſhe paid them any attention. On the ſcaffold her face diſplayed the bloom of health, and the ſerenity of a mind undiſturbed.

Aſſaſſination can in no caſe be entirely juſtified; but this ſeems the leaſt culpable and moſt diſintereſted inſtance that can be imagined; and the whole behaviour of Marie Charlotte Cordé exhibits a benevolence of intention and heroic firmneſs of mind that perhaps has never been ſurpaſſed by woman or by man.

very time that the National Aſſembly had his conduct under conſideration, and even after it was known that they had decreed his reſtoration, with the outrageous behaviour of the multitude, obviouſly to overawe the Legiſlature, and carry their point by force, was certainly rebellion, however palliated by Briſſot himſelf, in a work he publiſhed ſome time afterwards, in which this event is ſingularly miſrepreſented *. The conduct of Briſſot was ſtrongly diſapproved of by all thoſe firſt movers of the Revolution, whoſe view from the beginning, and whoſe ultimate wiſh, was a monarchical

* On profite d'un raſſemblement *paiſible* de citoyens qui ſignoient une pétition au Champ de Mars ; on les peint comme un amas de brigands aux yeux de la Garde Nationale ; on *prépare* la tragédie de deux hommes trouvés le matin ſous l'autel et maſſacrés à propos. Le drapeau rouge eſt déployé ſans néceſſité ; et le ſang coule, ſans que la loi ait parlé.——Reponſe de Briſſot à tous les Libelliſtes, &c.

form

form of government limited by law, and conſiſtent with the liberty of the ſubject; and had Briſſot been tried at this time * for the part he certainly took in this inſurrection, the object of which was to overſet the Conſtitution, he might have been juſtly condemned; and a ſubſequent tribunal would have been ſaved the guilt of condemning him and his aſſociates for crimes they never committed, and for that part of their conduct that was meritorious.

* That Briſſot thought himſelf at this time in ſome danger, and that he was ſhunned by many, appears by his own account: "J'ai été un de ces hommes déſignés publiquement pour l'échaffaud; moi que, huit jours auparavant, on portoit preſque aux nues, je me trouvai tout-à-coup dans un abime effroyable, je liſois ſur tous les viſages, et les calomnies qu'on avoit repandues contre moi, et l'effroi que mon approche inſpiroit, et ma ſentence prochaine. Mille avis me parvenoient à la fois; mes amis trembloient pour moi; les uns me conſeilloient de fuir; les autres de modérer mes traits contre mes perſécuteurs," &c.

The formidable appearance which this inſurrection at one moment had, made a ſtrong impreſſion on the minds of many members of the Aſſembly, and of the moſt reſpectable citizens of Paris. They conſidered the inſurgents as a gang of needy ruffians, who waited but for a pretext or a ſignal from their employers to burſt into the ſhops and houſes, and pillage them. The energy, therefore, which the Aſſembly, Municipality, and Commander of the National Guards, had ſhewn in ſuppreſſing this commotion was generally approved of; and a greater degree of order and tranquillity than had been known for ſome time before in Paris was the conſequence.

It would have been fortunate that the Conſtituent Aſſembly had continued for at leaſt one year longer; not only becauſe it conſiſted of a body of more reſpectable men than the ſucceeding Aſſembly, but alſo be-

cauſe by experience it had acquired a juſter notion of things than when it was firſt conſtituted. The exalted theories concerning liberty, which had been entertained by ſome of its moſt diſtinguiſhed members, were now conſiderably moderated by the ſcenes to which they had been witneſſes. Whatever diſlike the King may be ſuppoſed to have had to ſome parts of the Conſtitution; yet after accepting it and ſwearing to maintain it, and after the dangers he had been expoſed to, there is great reaſon to think that his reſolution was to adhere to his engagements, and that he would to the moſt minute particular have done ſo, if he had had an Aſſembly to deal with who had formed a ſimilar reſolution. And thoſe neareſt the King's perſon, however different their original opinion may have been, muſt have confirmed him in this reſolution, provided they wiſhed well to

the Royal Family; but all the dawnings of concord and tranquillity that ſeemed ready to open at this period on the French nation diſappeared with the Conſtituent Aſſembly.

The Committee which had been employed for a conſiderable time in digeſting and arranging the conſtitutional decrees had now concluded its labour. The whole was read to the Aſſembly on the 4th of Auguſt 1791. It was then debated article by article, and on the third of September preſented to the King, who was at the ſame time reſtricted by the Aſſembly to accept or reject the whole without exception or obſervation. On the 13th of the ſame month, being attended by a deputation of ſixty members, the King went to the Aſſembly, and ſanctioned the aſſent which he had the day before ſent in writing, by an oath to be faithful to the nation,

tion, and to employ the powers vested in him for the maintenance of the Constitution; and on the 30th of September the Assembly was terminated by its own spontaneous dissolution.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Legiſlative Aſſembly—The King determined to adhere ſcrupulouſly to the Conſtitution—The Gironde determined on a Republic—The King's Houſehold Guards—Formation of the King's and the Queen's Houſehold—A new Hardſhip put on the Clergy—The Veto exerciſed—Confuſion this produces in the Aſſembly—Unforeſeen Events in the Revolution—Diſagreement among the King's Miniſters—M. de Narbonne—M. de Bertrand—Adminiſtration diſſolved.

UNFORTUNATELY for France the Legiſlative Aſſembly contained leſs wiſdom than its predeceſſor. It was compoſed of men not only leſs reſpectable from their rank in ſociety, but in general of inferior abilities. There were in it however a few men of diſtinguiſhed talents, a greater number

number of a conſiderable ſhare of learning; but the ideas of both thoſe claſſes on the ſubject of government had not been matured by long reflection nor corrected by experience. The remainder, forming by far the greateſt proportion, conſiſted of men with no pretenſion to knowledge, ſome of them of impetuous characters and enthuſiaſtic imaginations, who had been elected merely on account of their zeal and activity in the Revolution.

From this account of the Second or Legiſlative Aſſembly, nothing very wiſe or politic was to be expected in their conduct; but it could hardly have been conceived that they would have begun by ſo childiſh a meaſure as they really did—namely, conteſting the prerogatives and honours which the preceding Aſſembly had left with the King. Having met on the 1ſt of October, they verified their powers, choſe their Preſident and Secretaries, took the oath to

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maintain the Conſtitution decreed by the Conſtituent Aſſembly in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791, and never to propoſe or conſent to any law contrary to it; and immediately after they decreed, contrary to what had been the uſage during the former Aſſembly, that when the King ſhould repair to the preſent one for the ceremony of what they call *l'ouverture de la ſéance*, their Preſident ſhould have the *firſt* and the King the *ſecond* place. This ridiculous conduct of the Aſſembly was conſidered as highly inſolent by the King's Council, which was unanimouſly for reſiſting it; but the King himſelf found a method of eluding at once the conteſt and the humiliation, by obſerving, that as the Conſtitution did not ordain that he ſhould go in perſon to the Aſſembly, either for the *ouverture* or any other purpoſe, he would on the preſent occaſion allow the *ouverture* to take place without his appearing.

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This new pretenſion of the Aſſembly was viewed with indignation by the public in general, as well as by the King's Council; which when the Aſſembly underſtood, and were informed of the reſolution the King had taken, they annulled their fooliſh decree, and his Majeſty then conſented to open the ſeſſion in perſon, which he did by a very judicious ſpeech.

Some time previous to the opening of this Aſſembly, M. de Thevenard, Miniſtre de la Marine, having reſigned that office, the King expreſſed a deſire that M. Bertrand de Moleville ſhould be his ſucceſſor, and deſired M. de Montmorin, Miniſtre de l'Intérieur, to communicate his deſire to that gentleman. In a letter written by him to the Preſident of the National Convention in November 1792, M. Bertrand declares that he had great unwillingneſs to accept of the office, becauſe at that time he harboured doubts reſpecting the King's diſpoſition towards

wards the Conſtitution, which determined him to decline the offer made to him in the King's name by M. de Montmorin. But upon receiving a preſſing letter, written by the King himſelf, he requeſted to have a moment's conference with his Majeſty; which being agreed to, he was preſented to the King the following day by M. de Leſſart. M. Bertrand then expreſſed his ſenſe of the honour that was intended for him; but that he might be enabled to ſerve his Majeſty with efficacy, he begged to be informed of his Majeſty's real diſpoſition reſpecting the Conſtitution, and what was the conduct he expected his Miniſters were to obſerve on that ſubject. To which the King anſwered—"I have been informed of your ſcruples. I do not blame you for them; it is reaſonable you ſhould know what is expected from you. I acknowledge that I do not approve of every article of the Conſtitution. I am convinced that if the

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Aſſembly had not precluded all obſervations, by confining me to a ſimple acceptance or refuſal, I could have indicated certain alterations which they would have approved. But that is over; I have accepted and ſworn to maintain it, ſuch as it is, and I am reſolved to be ſtrictly faithful to my engagement, expecting that my Miniſters will conform their conduct in all reſpects to the ſame plan. I am the more determined ſtrictly and literally to adhere to every article of the Conſtitution, becauſe it is the beſt means of ſhewing to the nation its excellencies or defects, and what alterations they may find it neceſſary to make." M. Bertrand having expreſſed his ſatisfaction at hearing ſentiments ſo conformable to his own, added—" May I preſume to aſk whether thoſe are the ſentiments of the Queen?" His Majeſty aſſured him they were; which was confirmed to him by the Queen herſelf

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the ſame day, when M. Bertrand was preſented to her.

Theſe circumſtances are mentioned from good authority, in ſupport of what has been above aſſerted with regard to the diſpoſition of the King and Queen at the opening of the Legiſlative Aſſembly; and if that Aſſembly had ſincerely concurred in the ſame ſentiments, order and proſperity might from this date have been reſtored to France under the influence of a limited monarchy. But the Rochefoucaults, the Mouniers, and the Lally Tolendals had forſaken the Aſſembly. Mirabeau was dead. The Lameths, Adrien Duport, La Fayette, Barnave, and other ſincere ſupporters of the Conſtitution, could not be members of the Second Aſſembly by that moſt impolitic decree which excluded all who had been of the Firſt. The ſame decree excluded Robeſpierre; but his malevolent ſpirit haunted

the Club of Jacobins, and was there as active and miſchievous as ever. The promoters of the late inſurrection, inſtead of being purſued with vigour and brought to trial, were allowed to appear again in the capital, and ſome of them were choſen Members of the Aſſembly; particularly Briſſot, who in a ſhort time became the centre of that circle, ſo well known under the name of the Gironde—many of them men of talents unqueſtionably, but all of them in their hearts republicans, and therefore very dangerous Members of a Legiſlative Aſſembly belonging to a Monarchical Conſtitution.

It is impoſſible to reflect upon the conduct of this party of the Gironde without being perſuaded that their object from the beginning was to wean the minds of their countrymen from monarchy, even in the mildeſt form. They imagined that the Conſtitution itſelf contained that within it which

rendered freedom inſecure, and would ſooner or later be the means of bringing back that deſpotic government which they juſtly abhorred as the greateſt of all earthly curſes, and which in the mean time retarded the eſtabliſhment of that republican government, which in viſionary beauty appeared to their imaginations as the greateſt of all political bleſſings. They thought that to have lopped the extravagant branches of monarchy was not ſufficient; that the trunk itſelf muſt be entirely eradicated, before the tree of liberty could take firm root in France. They dreaded *that* taſte for pomp and for the ſplendour of royalty which they believed ſtill to exiſt in the hearts of their countrymen. If the King himſelf ſhould not be diſpoſed to extend the power of the Crown beyond the limits of the Conſtitution, they thought him under the influence of thoſe who would make him attempt it; and that if the attempt ſhould fail in his

his reign, it might ſucceed in that of his ſucceſſor. But at this period ſo far were ſome of thoſe who had the greateſt ſway among the Briſſotine party from fearing the perfidious attempts of the King againſt the Conſtitution, that they were now perſuaded that paſt experience, his natural love of juſtice, his unambitious diſpoſition, had determined him to adhere ſtrictly to it, and to lend a deaf ear in future to whatever might be ſuggeſted to induce him to a contrary conduct; what they moſt dreaded was that the King's natural love of juſtice, his affability, and all the mild virtues of his character, would revive the ſeeds of loyalty which lay concealed in the hearts of the people, and occaſion the reſtoration of a government more arbitrary than that which had been overturned. To blaſt thoſe ſeeds entirely, and prevent ſo pernicious an harveſt, they uſed means which never can be juſtifiable in a creature ſo fallible in judg-

ment, ſo circumſcribed in his views, and ſo limited in his faculties, as man. Rumours of new plots and conſpiracies, of an Auſtrian committee within the palace, and other tales equally falſe, were propagated by active emiſſaries in the places of public reſort, and inſinuated in the journals ſuppoſed to be under the direction of leading men of the party. The King's character was groſsly miſrepreſented, and new ſources of calumny were opened againſt the Queen. To that ſpecies of ſlander to which female beauty is moſt expoſed, others were added of a more important nature, in which the independence and freedom of the nation were deeply concerned.

The cauſes of inquietude with which this unhappy monarch was ſurrounded, did not proceed from the republican party in the Aſſembly alone. The formation of that body of guards which the Conſtitution had appointed to the King, greatly excited the jealouſy

jealouſy of the National Guards of Paris; although the King uſed every precaution he could think of to prevent it. He conſented that the Pariſian National Guards ſhould continue to perform duty at the palace, and to mount guard at particular poſts of the Tuileries in common with his own peculiar body guards; he expreſſed to both corps, that the moſt agreeable mark of attachment they could give him would be to live in union and friendly terms with each other. All this could not cure the National Guards of their jealouſy: the King could not ſpeak a word, in paſſing, to an officer of the body guards, or look on the ſoldiers with an air of ſatisfaction, without the others complaining loudly that the new guards were preferred to them; and hardly a week paſſed without complaints of this nature, and without the Royal Family being teaſed with their ſuſpicions or animoſities. Theſe diſputes, with ſome other incidents, were afterwards made

a pretext by the King's enemies to diſband the Conſtitutional Guards entirely, that he might be unable to reſiſt inſurrections, and be entirely at their mercy *.

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* When the troops were firſt decreed for the King's houſehold, it was a diſtinction much deſired to belong to them. The formation of them was left to his Majeſty; and he reſolved to take one third of both officers and men from the troops of the line, and the other two from the National Guards, which was done accordingly. But with a view to render himſelf extenſively popular, he deſired each department of France to ſend a certain number of their National Guards, to compoſe that part of his houſehold troops which was to be formed from the national troops. But although in general they were well choſen, yet ſome of thoſe ſent by the departments were exceedingly ſeditious; whereas, if he had taken them all from the National Guards of Paris, the character of each individual might have been known before he was appointed. A great number of the citizens of Paris would have had ſons or relations in the King's houſehold, which would have rendered him popular where popularity was of infinitely more importance than in the remote departments; and a guard ſo connected could not have been dangerous

The emigration at this period was very great; and had extended to both ſexes, comprehending ſeveral ladies of the Queen's houſehold. It was imagined that, to render himſelf as well as the Queen popular, his Majeſty was inclined to have the vacant places filled by the relations of thoſe who were believed to be the warmeſt friends to the Revolution. On this preſumption the Miniſters were earneſtly ſolicited by the numerous candidates to be included in the new formation of both houſeholds. The King however, being aware that he was in danger of making more enemies than friends, poſtponed the buſineſs from time to time; and, when importuned by the Miniſters themſelves, he eluded coming to an

dangerous to liberty. Had this plan been obſerved, ſo many Pariſian families would have been intereſted in the houſehold troops being kept up, as would have rendered the Aſſembly cautious of decreeing their reduction.

immediate nomination, by deſiring each Miniſter to give a liſt of thoſe whom he recommended to the different offices which were to be created. The words the Monarch uſed, ſpeaking on this ſubject to a perſon who enjoyed his confidence, give a more juſt and a more affecting idea than perhaps any other could do, of the perplexing ſtate in which the Royal Family were even at this period, when they were generally believed more free than uſual from conſtraint. " Je ſens bien que la Reine ne peut pas garder ſans inconvénient auprès d'elle des femmes d'emigrés, et je lui en ai déjà parlé; mais on ne peut pas exiger non plus qu'elle faſſe ſa ſociété de Meſdames Petion, Condorcet, ou autres de cette eſpece. Quant à moi, la plûpart de ceux dont le ſervice m'étoit le plus agréable dans mon ancienne maiſon m'ont abandonné, et parmi ceux qui en ſont reſtés il y en a qui font le tourment de ma vie. Il y a par exemple

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ce ——————, qui eſt ſans ceſſe chez moi pour eſpionner et commenter tout ce qui s'y dit, tout ce qui s'y fait, et qui en fait enſuite les rapports les plus faux *."

The Aſſembly, not ſatisfied with the hard decree which ſtripped thoſe Clergy of their livings who refuſed to take the oath to the Conſtitution, paſſed another ſtill more ſevere, by which a new oath was to be offered to them; and all who did not take it were to leave the kingdom.

* I am ſenſible that the Queen cannot without inconvenience keep the wives of emigrants about her, and I have already ſpoken to her on that ſubject; but neither can it be expected that ſhe will compoſe her ſociety of Meſdames Petion, Condorcet, or others of that claſs. As for my own part, the greateſt number of my ancient houſehold whoſe ſervice was the moſt agreeable to me, have abandoned me, and among thoſe who remain there are ſome who are the torment of my life. There is for example that ——————, who is continually at hand to ſpy and comment upon all that is ſaid and all that is done, and afterwards gives the moſt falſe account of the whole.

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All the Biſhops then at Paris, greatly alarmed at this freſh act of oppreſſion, met on purpoſe to draw up a memorial to be preſented to the King, entreating him to interpoſe his negative. His Majeſty, who had felt remorſe for having conſented to the firſt decree againſt the Clergy, received this memorial very graciouſly, and declared that he was determined to refuſe his ſanction to the decree, which he conſidered as crueland unjuſt.

When this matter was laid before the King's Council, which conſiſted of M. Deleſſart for Foreign Affairs, M. de Narbonne as Miniſter of War, M. de Bertrand of the Marine, M. Cahier de Gerville of the Interior, M. Duport du Tertre, Keeper of the Seals, and M. Tarbé, Miniſter of Contributions, they were unanimouſly of opinion that the decree ſhould be negatived; but, this being the firſt inſtance of the King's exerciſing this prerogative, it was thought expedient

expedient that it ſhould be done with ſolemnity; and, to ſhew that it was with the entire approbation of the Council, all the Miniſters agreed to accompany M. Duport du Tertre to the Aſſembly when he went to announce the King's veto.

M. Duport having a meſſage of a more agreeable nature to communicate to them at the ſame time, he encouraged his colleagues by aſſuring them, that he would take that opportunity of throwing in a few forcible arguments to prove the expediency of the veto, which he was convinced would ſatisfy the Aſſembly. The King approved of this arrangement; and on the 10th of November all the Miniſters aſſembled at M. Duport's houſe, that they might go to the Aſſembly together. Before they ſet out, he was obſerved to drink two glaſſes of cold water. One of his colleagues aſked if he felt himſelf indiſpoſed. He anſwered, " Non; c'eſt une précaution que je prends toutes les fois que je vais

vais à l'Aſſemblée ; le ſang me bout dans les veines quand j'entends ces gens-là ; et ſi je ne prennois pas quelque choſe pour me calmer, je ſerois ſûr de m'emporter, et de leur dire les vérités les plus dures *."

The entrance of the ſix Miniſters into the hall of the Aſſembly, and the report of a meſſage from the King, the purport of which was unknown, excited curioſity, and produced a ſilence more profound and of longer duration than had ever been known in that Aſſembly. M. Duport in the mean time laid upon the table, one after another, the different decrees which the King had ſanctioned, among which were two that the Aſſembly had ſhewn particular anxiety to have paſſed. Having fulfilled this part of his duty to the ſatisfaction of the Aſſembly,

* No; it is a precaution I take every time I go to the Aſſembly to keep my blood calm; for it is apt to boil in my veins at ſight of thoſe fellows; and if I did not take ſomething to cool me, I ſhould be ſo overheated with paſſion as to tell them the moſt diſagreeable truths.

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he added, that with regard to the decree which impoſed a new oath on the unconſtitutional Prieſts, *le Roi examinera*; which is the expreſſion uſed when a decree is negatived. The Miniſter then drew from his pocket a paper containing the diſcourſe which he had prepared relative to the King's meſſage; but unfortunately the two glaſſes of water began to operate at that inſtant, and they produced an effect more violent than could have been expected from ſo ſimple a medicine. His face became pale; his voice grew weak; and his hand ſhook ſo much that it was with difficulty he could read the diſcourſe; and, what was moſt unlucky of all, the firſt ſentence he pronounced alluded to the refuſal of the ſanction. He was allowed to proceed no farther: a general uproar began in the Aſſembly: all ſpoke at once demanding la parole; and all continuing to ſpeak without having obtained permiſſion, " M. le Préſident—M. le Pré-

ſident, nous ne pouvons pas entendre ce meſſage," exclaimed one. "Ce ſont les motifs du réfus de ſanction," rejoined another. "Ce meſſage eſt inconſtitutionnel," cried a third. "Rappellez à l'ordre le Miniſtre," added a fourth. "M. le Préſident, je demande la parole pour une motion d'ordre," ſaid a fifth, and many others made the ſame requiſition. The tumult continued ſeven or eight minutes, during which the Miniſters ſtood waiting the reſult. As ſoon as it abated, the Preſident propoſed the queſtion, whether they ſhould refuſe to hear the meſſage as unconſtitutional. M. Bertrand, perceiving that the Keeper of the Seals made no effort to prevent this, deſired to be heard for a ſingle moment. This was refuſed; and it was decreed that the meſſage ſhould not be heard; after which the Preſident informed M. Bertrand that he might ſpeak. M. Bertrand ſaid, that what he had to ſay could

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now be of little importance; but that if he had been allowed to ſpeak before they paſſed the decree, he would have informed them that the King's meſſage was to communicate certain meaſures which his Majeſty had taken to put a ſtop to emigration. He had no ſooner pronounced theſe words than the tumult recommenced: one part of the Aſſembly inſiſted upon retracting the decree and hearing the meſſage; another were for maintaining the decree; but as the Keeper of the Seals was ſilent, although, had it not been for the chilling effect of the water, he might have repreſented that, according to the Conſtitution, the Aſſembly had no right to refuſe to hear a meſſage from the King; the buſineſs ended here, and the order of the day was called for.

In the account of this tranſaction given in the newſpaper called the Moniteur, the words uſed by M. Bertrand were miſtated. He was repreſented, after the words *to ſtop the emigration*, to have added, *of Navy Officers.*

cers. He thought proper to addreſs a letter to the editor of the Moniteur, deſiring that the miſtake might be corrected, as he had not mentioned the *Officers of the Navy*, nor could with propriety have done it, no one officer having deſerted his poſt ſince his appointment to the place of Miniſter of the Marine. This letter formed the pretext for a denunciation againſt M. Bertrand a ſhort time afterwards.

The Legiſlative Aſſembly manifeſted ſo great a diſpoſition to put an unfavourable conſtruction on the King's meaſures, that he was conſtantly on his guard, had the Conſtitution always before his eyes, and ſeldom propoſed any plan to his Miniſters, or adopted one propoſed by them, without previouſly examining whether or not it was ſtrictly conformable to it; and if there were doubts on that head, he generally rejected the meaſure. This attention rendered it difficult for the King's enemies to find, what they eagerly looked for, any matter of accuſation

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founded on his having infringed the Conſtitution. An attempt was made to put that conſtruction on his having made uſe of the veto. It was ſaid to be applying a conſtitutional power diametrically againſt the ſpirit of the Conſtitution. But who are to be the judges in this matter? If it be the Aſſembly, then the veto is a word ſignifying nothing. If it is the King, then there was no infringement of the Conſtitution. But no prudence on his part could have enabled him to avoid all the dangers with which he was ſurrounded; nor could human penetration foreſee what was to be the effect, when ambition, enthuſiaſm, prejudice, patriotiſm, ignorance, and caprice, acting upon a large body of men poſſeſſed with power, are the cauſes. Indeed, many events in the courſe of this revolution are ſo ſurpriſing, and ſo little to be looked for from what occurred immediately before, that they may be compared to the tricks of a juggler, who

bewilders the ſenſes of the ſpectators, and, every time he removes the cup or the hat, preſents ſome object extremely different, if not preciſely the reverſe of what they expected to ſee.

For example. Who could have expected that the Archbiſhop of Sens would be ſucceeded, as Prime Miniſter of France, by a foreigner who was a Proteſtant by religion and a republican by birth? After being created Miniſter upon account of his popularity, who could have imagined that M. Necker would be ordered to quit the kingdom when his popularity was at the higheſt? Could thoſe who ſaw him flying like a felon to the frontiers conceive, that he would within a few days be recalled and brought back in triumph to his former ſituation? Or could thoſe who ſaw the frantic joy of the people at his return imagine, that he would ſoon after be permitted to withdraw out of the kingdom without notice

tice or regret? After all the time and labour which had been beſtowed in forming a Conſtitution of a monarchical form; after the whole nation had ſworn to maintain it; after the Legiſlative Aſſembly, amidſt the plaudits of the galleries, had declared againſt a republic in the month of July 1792, who could have believed that a republican form of government would be decreed in the month of September of the ſame year? Could it have been foreſeen that the Duke of Rochefoucault, M. Mounier, and many more who ſtruggled to obtain freedom for France, would be murdered or driven out of their country as the agents of deſpotiſm? When the King was a priſoner and the nation in anarchy, who expected that the raw ſoldiery and undiſciplined peaſantry of France, under the direction of a General who had never before commanded an army, ſhould baffle the ſkill and energy of a numerous veteran army, commanded by a Ge-

neral of the higheſt military reputation in Europe? At a moment when they certainly could not wiſh for new enemies, who could have thought that the Convention would have wantonly provoked every neighbouring ſtate by ridiculous and hoſtile decrees? When unhappy and diſtracted France was ſuffering under the moſt cruel internal commotion, and on the point of exhauſting her ſtrength by civil war as much as her bittereſt enemies could wiſh, who could have imagined that they would contrive a ſcheme, the effect of which was to aſſuage commotions, unite her councils, and inſpire her with a vigour ſhe never had ſhewn before? Could any body who had ſeen Robeſpierre odious to the great majority of the Convention, and with difficulty allowed to ſpeak, have imagined that this very man, who ſeemed to hate mankind and was formed for being hated by them, was ever to acquire power by popularity, and be able to exerciſe

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a degree of tyranny over thoſe zealots of freedom, which it could hardly be expected the mutes of a ſeraglio would have long ſubmitted to?

To return to the period we left. When the King and thoſe around him ſeem to have ſhut their hearts from any other view, and to have centred all their hopes of comfort and ſecurity in conforming to the regulations of the Conſtitution, it was peculiarly unlucky that there was not perfect concord in the King's Council on other points of conduct. Though there is reaſon to believe that all the Miniſters wiſhed well to their country, the moſt diſtinguiſhed for talents and energy among them were of very different characters. M. de Narbonne, the Miniſter of War, was a man of ſpirit and enterpriſe, of very pleaſing manners, of a great ſhare of wit, and various other accompliſhments. M. Bertrand, the Miniſter of the Marine, was more advanced in life, of a

clear and maſculine judgment, of untemitting application, but of plainer manners than is uſual with his countrymen. He had managed the public affairs as Intendant in the province of Britanny, during a difficult period, with great ſteadineſs, and equally to the ſatisfaction of the King and the province.

As it had been remarked by M. Bertrand, that ſome of the Miniſters during the firſt Aſſembly had been brought into trouble by communicating with the Committees, owing to their words or actions having been miſrepreſented, he propoſed to his colleagues, that they ſhould communicate and correſpond directly with the Aſſembly, as ordained by the Conſtitution, and never with the Committees. This being approved of by the King, was agreed to by all the Miniſters, except M. de Narbonne, who at this time enjoyed a great ſhare of popularity, was praiſed in the Journals of Briſſot

and

and Condorcet, while M. Bertrand was abuſed in both. M. de Narbone imagined that it was only by preſerving his popularity that he could be of ſervice as a Miniſter either to his King or Country. He therefore correſponded with the Committees, went often there, was always well received, and appeared to be on a friendly footing with ſeveral leading Deputies of the Gironde party. This conduct was highly diſpleaſing to M. Bertrand and ſome of the other Miniſters, and, with other ſubjects of diſagreement, was the cauſe of M. de Narbonne's quitting the office of Miniſter. After his reſignation, as the miſunderſtanding between him and M. Bertrand had been commented on in Briſſot's Journal, the latter thought it expedient to reſign alſo. The conſequence was the entire diſſolution of this Adminiſtration—an event much to be regretted; becauſe perhaps it was the only Adminiſtration ſince the Revolution,

in which all the Miniſters were at once attached to the King and to the Conſtitution. M. de Narbonne ſoon afterwards joined the army under M. La Fayette, whoſe conduct in ſupport of the Conſtitution he approved, and thereby drew upon himſelf the hatred firſt of the Jacobins, and finally of the Gironde party.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Jacobin Adminiſtration—War with the Emperor—The Auſtrian Committee revived—Memoirs of Madame de la Motte—The King's Houſehold Troops reduced—Seditious Scenes in the Gardens of the Tuileries—Diviſions in the Council—Decree for an Army of Twenty Thouſand Men—Views of the Jacobins—Obſervations of Camille Deſmoulins—King negatives the Decrees—Roland diſmiſſed—Dumourier reſigns—M. La Fayette writes to the National Aſſembly—Appears at the Bar—A Project for the Eſcape of the Royal Family—Reflections on the Behaviour of the King, Queen, and Princeſs Elizabeth.

ON the diſſolution of this adminiſtration, the King was adviſed by M. Cahier de Gerville to form an adminiſtration of a popular

popular nature, as the beſt means of acquiring the confidence of the nation, and of precluding thoſe marks of jealouſy and ill humour that were ſhewn againſt all his meaſures. M. Dumourier, the ſame who has ſince rendered himſelf ſo famous, was appointed Miniſter for Foreign Affairs; M. La Coſte for the Marine; M. Duranton Miniſter of Juſtice; and a ſhort time after M. Roland, a man of a grave character and republican principles, who had formerly been Inſpector of Commerce and Manufactures, was named Miniſter for the Interior; M. Claviere of Geneva, a perſon celebrated for his knowledge in finance, Miniſter of Contribution; and M. Degraves, a man of a mild and diffident character, and in a weakly ſtate of health, ſucceeded M. de Narbonne as Miniſter of War. This was called the Jacobin Adminiſtration; although Lacoſte, Duranton, and Degraves never had been of that Society, and the other three within a very

very ſhort time were more obnoxious to the Jacobins than any men in France.

The aſſembling of emigrants on the frontiers of France, particularly in the Auſtrian Netherlands, the countenance given to them by foreign Princes, the proclamations iſſued by the King's brothers, and a variety of other circumſtances, had long rendered it probable, notwithſtanding the pacific declarations of the Emperor Leopold, that an attack was intended upon France.

In the diſordered ſtate of that country, it is natural to imagine that war would have been conſidered as an additional evil, and to be avoided with the utmoſt care. It has been believed, however, that it was not viewed in that light by the republicans; but rather as a means of accompliſhing their favourite object. Briſſot in his Journal inſinuates as much: "Sans la guerre," he ſays, "la France ne ſeroit pas république;" but the Journal alluded to appeared immediately

after

after the Republic had been declared by the Convention, when the higheſt merit the party could claim was that of having contributed to it. But however ardently they may have wiſhed for war, they had no need of uſing any addreſs to have it declared; for the young Prince who ſucceeded his uncle Leopold ſoon ſettled that point by the anſwer he ordered to be made to the requiſitions of M. de Noailles, the French Ambaſſador at the Court of Vienna, and by him tranſmitted to M. Dumourier. This anſwer imported that the only terms on which peace could be continued were, "that the French Monarchy ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed, according to the plan propoſed at the Royal Seſſion at Verſailles in June 1789, which exacted the reſtoration of the nobility and clergy as orders, the reſtoration of the lands of the church, the guarantee of the feudal rights of the German Princes in Alſace, and the reſtitution of Avignon and the county

of

of Venaiſſin to the Pope." Dumourier, who conſidered this anſwer as equivalent to a declaration of war, prevailed on the King to communicate it directly to the National Aſſembly, where, as was foreſeen, it excited the utmoſt indignation; and on the 20th of April the King, accompanied by his Council, went to the Aſſembly and propoſed that war ſhould be declared againſt the King of Hungary and Bohemia. The propoſal was heard with univerſal applauſe, and decreed by the Aſſembly with unanimity.

The firſt military operations of the French, however, tended to confirm an opinion pronounced with an air of triumphant infallibility by many, that the diſciplined army of Auſtria would drive the militia of France before them like a flock of ſheep to the capital, that the old deſpotiſm would be reſtored with awful ſplendour, and the Emperor rewarded for his ſervices by the acquiſition of Alſace and Lorraine. This has

not

not exactly taken place; but the events of the war have produced an effect which nobody foreſaw, but which ſeems equally alarming—the inhabitants of a populous and extenſive country, from being the beſt taylors, hair-dreſſers, cooks and dancing-maſters in Europe, and equal to moſt as manufacturers and men of letters, have ſuddenly been converted into ſoldiers, nothing inferior to the moſt warlike of their neighbours. This has at length induced many of their ancient rivals, in ſpite of every ſentiment of jealouſy, heartily to wiſh, for the tranquillity of all concerñed, that the French were re-inſtated in their former ſuperiority as dancing-maſters, hair-dreſſers, &c.

Notwithſtanding the applauſe with which the King's propoſal of war was received, yet the formation of the new adminiſtration did not produce the effect which Cahier de Gerville expected. The King had enemies who were vexed with every meaſure which

tended to render him popular, and uſed every means to counteract their effect.

The King's circumſpection in adapting his conduct to the forms of the Conſtitution, the popularity which he had acquired by propoſing the declaration of war, alarmed them ſo much, that they thought it neceſſary to revive a tale which had formerly been circulated, and had afterwards been diſcredited, namely, that a ſociety of perſons choſen by the Queen frequently met in the apartments of Madame de Lamballe, on purpoſe to concert meaſures to aſſiſt the Emperor in his invaſion of France, and to ſend occaſional inſtructions how to proceed. This was called the Auſtrian Committee; and it was imagined that it would raiſe a greater indignation, and on that very account be more eagerly believed, now when the Emperor was at war with France, than formerly. The Journals therefore began again to be filled with

with accounts of this dreadful Committee; harangues againſt it were made nightly in the Jacobin Club, and it became the chief theme of the orators in the Palais Royal. Theſe manœuvres produced the deſired effect upon all who take repeated aſſertion for proof; but as many remained incredulous, it was thought neceſſary to fabricate ſomething which ſhould have the appearance of more ſubſtantial evidence for them, and ſome devices were uſed of a very perfidious nature *.

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* One inſtance of this is ſo remarkable in its circumſtances as to be worth mentioning. A perſon of the name of Richet de Ceriſi came to Renaut de St. Jean d'Angeli, Member of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, and at that time editor of the Journal de Paris, and delivered to him a meſſage in the name of Madame de Lamballe, deſiring him to come on the following Friday to her apartments, as he had been elected a Member of the Committee, and that he would there find his friends M. Malouet, and alſo Meſſrs. Bertrand and Montmorin.

Renaut

In the mean time an occurrence happened which produced an extraordinary fermentation

Renaut being flattered with the invitation, of the genuineneſs of which he had not the leaſt doubt, called on M. Malouet, and expreſſed ſatisfaction in the opportunities he would have of meeting him at the Committee at Madame de Lamballe's. This drew to an explanation. M. Malouet aſſured Renaut that he was played upon; that as for his own part he was a Member of no Committee, and that he had not the honour of being at all acquainted with Madame de Lamballe. M. Malouet informed M. Bertrand of this; who immediately ſent a meſſage to Madame de Lamballe, then in the country, deſiring to know if ſhe was acquainted with Richet de Ceriſi, &c. Madame de Lamballe returned for anſwer, that ſhe knew no ſuch man, had ſent no ſuch meſſage, and that no Committee had ever met in her apartments.

At this very time two fellows had been haranguing in the gardens of the Palais Royal againſt the Auſtrian Committee; but had not ſo fully engroſſed the attention of their auditors, as to prevent their being detected in the act of picking pockets in the heat of their oration. They were carried before a magiſtrate; and on a ſtrict examination, a patent of affiliation as Members of the Ja-

tion in the minds of the people, and even of the Deputies; of which advantage being taken by the King's enemies, it had an effect with

cobin Society was found on each, and it appeared that both had been marked with an iron on the ſhoulder as thieves.

On the evening before thoſe two fellows were taken up, Carra in the Jacobin Club denounced M. Bertrand and M. Montmorin as leading Members in the Auſtrian Committee; on which M. Bertrand inſtituted a proceſs againſt Carra, who when brought before the Judge declared that he had made that denunciation on the authority of Merlin of Thionville, Bazire, and Chabot the Capuchin. Richet de Ceriſi abſconded. M. Bertrand publiſhed a Memorial againſt Carra and his informers, in which the epiſode of the two branded thieves who were Members of the Jacobin Club made a conſpicuous figure, to the great mortification of the Jacobins, and of all thoſe who had been zealous in aſſerting the exiſtence of the dreaded Auſtrian Committee; all evidence of which vaniſhed on inveſtigation, as the miſhapen phantoms of fear vaniſh from the eyes of the bewildered traveller at the light of the morning. It would have been fortunate if the affair had ended here; but M. Lariviere, the

with which it might naturally have been thought to have no connection.

A large edition of the Memoirs of Ma-

the Judge before whom M. Bertrand's complaint had been carried, being filled with indignation againſt Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot, imprudently ordered them to be arreſted. They immediately complained to the Legiſlative Aſſembly, of which they were Members. The Aſſembly, more affected with the inſult offered to three of their own Members, than with the falſehood which they had propagated, decreed that Lariviere ſhould be ſent priſoner to Orleans, to be tried by the High Tribunal there. The unhappy man was afterwards maſſacred at Verſailles, with the other priſoners. No farther notice was taken of Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot, except in the following lines, which were often repeated at the time, and were thought to be more diſtinguiſhed for the truth than the wit they contain:

Connoiſſez-vous rien de plus ſot
Que Merlin, Bazire, et Chabot?
A-t-on vu rien de plus coquin
Que Chabot, Bazire, et Merlin?
Non: il n'exiſte rien de pire
Que Merlin, Chabot, et Bazire.

dame de la Motte had been bought long before by the direction of Government, and was locked up in a room of M. la Porte's houſe in the Louvre. He was at that time Intendant de la Liſte Civile, and from the hurry of affairs had neglected to deſtroy this work until the 30th of May 1792, when he made them be carefully packed up in a couple of waggons, and carried to the manufactory at Seves, where they were burned; but during the execution of this, as the ſpectators were prevented from ſatisfying the curioſity which they expreſſed to examine what the piles of paper were, which they beheld in this myſterious manner committed to the flames, ſome of them concluded that they could be no other than the regiſters of the famous Auſtrian Committee of which they had heard ſo much, but of whoſe exiſtence no trace had ever been diſcovered before. This ſagacious inference was no ſooner made than the news

was

was ſpread, that the records of the horrid Auſtrian Committee had been burned at Seves; and within a few hours the ſtreet orators of Paris repeated to the groups aſſembled in the public places the contents of ſome of thoſe bloody records, which they pretended to have learned from perſons who had read them, in ſpite of the care taken to prevent it. Thoſe who had ever expreſſed a doubt of the exiſtence of an Auſtrian Committee in the caſtle of the Tuileries were treated as miſcreants. The news was brought to the National Aſſembly, where it excited the moſt violent agitation and heat; in the midſt of which a member who watched an opportunity for obtaining a decree againſt the conſtitutional houſehold troops, thought the preſent rage againſt the Court would anſwer the purpoſe as well as any accuſation againſt the troops themſelves. He therefore propoſed that they ſhould be immediately reduced, and that

the Duke of Briſſac their commander, who in all probability was a member of the Auſtrian Committee, and poſſibly was privy to the burning of the records, ſhould be ſent priſoner to Orleans.

The next day M. de la Porte appeared at the bar, and gave the moſt convincing evidence that the papers burned at Seves were the Memoirs of Madame de la Motte, and that no other paper or record of any kind had been deſtroyed on that occaſion. But theſe falſe rumours had produced the effects which their fabricators wiſhed; and the effects continued after their falſehood and the infamy of their authors were made manifeſt. The conſtitutional houſehold troops were not re-eſtabliſhed; and new ſources of calumny againſt the King and Queen were opened with more efficacy than ever.

In former adminiſtrations, but particularly in that immediately preceding the preſent, means had been uſed and conſiderable ſums

expended in engaging agents in the tribunes of the Aſſembly, in the coffee-houſes, and among the circles, to ſupport the meaſures of the Court. Various Journals were retained, and pamphlets frequently appeared for the ſame purpoſe. All this in ſome degree counterbalanced the unremitting efforts of the Jacobins. This counteraction being now ſuppreſſed, the torrent of calumny flowed with new force; and the Adminiſtration which the King had been adviſed to form, on purpoſe to render him popular, only contributed to make the deſigns of his enemies more dangerous, and their agents more daring. The ſeditious and diſguſting ſcenes which had been long exhibited in the Palais Royal, were now extended to the garden of the Tuileries. The eyes of the Royal Family were often ſhocked with the ſight of men dragged about by the mob, or ducked in the canal immediately before the front of the palace, on an accuſation of ariſ-

trocracy. The Queen could not appear at the windows without danger of inſult from the geſtures or language of ſome of the people beneath. Whatever declarations ſhe may have made againſt promoting any plan of counter-revolution, or of ſtrengthening the King's mind in his reſolution of conforming to the preſent ſyſtem, it is impoſſible to imagine that ſhe did not abhor it in her heart; and unfortunately it was not always in her power to prevent ſtrong indications of that abhorrence from appearing in her words and behaviour, not only in the preſence of her friends but alſo in that of her enemies—all of which were carefully retailed with exaggeration, commented upon in clubs, and publiſhed in pamphlets.

The two leading men in the preſent Adminiſtration were of ſuch oppoſite characters, that there was no probability of their acting long in agreement together. Dumourier was a ſoldier of fortune, of an ambitious

bitious and enterpriſing mind, who undoubtedly preferred the new Conſtitution to the old government, but whoſe moſt ardent deſire was to obtain ſituations in which the abilities he was conſcious of poſſeſſing might be brought into extenſive action. Roland was a man of rigid morals, a ſtern republican, and ſomewhat of a pedant. Of theſe two Miniſters the leaſt diſagreeable to the Court was the former. M. Lacoſte and M. de Grave were attached to him; but when M. de Grave was under the neceſſity, on account of ill health, to reſign, M. Servan, a Colonel in the Army, and author of a book entitled "Soldat Citoyen," was appointed his ſucceſſor. As M. Duranton was peculiarly attached to neither party, and the new Miniſter with Claviere was entirely devoted to Roland, the latter now acquired a preponderance in the Council; and being at the ſame time ſupported in the National Aſſembly by the Gironde faction,

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in the Municipality and among the populace by Petion now Mayor of Paris, Manuel Procureur of the Commune, and other avowed republicans, his influence ſeemed almoſt irreſiſtible. A difference of opinion had exiſted among the Council ſince the beginning of this adminiſtration; but after the nomination of Servan, animoſities were more fierce and frequent.

As the King always employed a Prieſt who had not taken the oaths to the Conſtitution, this circumſtance had been often mentioned in the Clubs and by the ſtreet orators as a proof of his averſion to it: it was propoſed that the ſix Miniſters ſhould addreſs the King to diſmiſs his preſent Confeſſor, and employ one who had taken the oaths. Dumourier oppoſed this as perſecuting and abſurd. Lacoſte and Duranton were of the ſame opinion; and no ſuch addreſs was made. The King, when he heard of this attempt, ſaid that he had given

proofs

proofs of being able to make great ſacrifices; and, if he ſhould be preſſed to act contrary to his conſcience in religious points, he could ſacrifice his life alſo.

The two parties which divided the Aſſembly at this period were that of the Gironde, ſtrengthened and ſupported as has been mentioned, and that called Feuillans, which conſiſted of thoſe Deputies in the Aſſembly who wiſhed to preſerve the monarchy according to the Conſtitution, and was ſupported without doors by many of the principal members of the late Conſtituent Aſſembly, and other perſons of character and weight, particularly by M. La Fayette, who commanded one of the armies on the frontiers. It was alſo ſuppoſed that a great majority of the Pariſian National Guards adhered to the principles of the Feuillans. This laſt circumſtance probably was the cauſe of a letter which Servan wrote to the Preſident of the National Aſſembly, propoſing

ing a decree for aſſembling an army of 20,000 in the neighbourhood of Paris, to be levied from all the different departments, and to rendezvous at the capital on the 14th of July, the day of the celebration of the Confederation.

The pretext for this was the protection of the capital. The real motive was to ſupport that controul which Roland and the Girondiſts had acquired and wiſhed to maintain over the Court. Servan was ſeverely reproached in the Council by Dumourier and M. Lacoſte for this ſtep, which there can be little doubt of his having taken with the approbation of Roland and Claviere. The decree was warmly oppoſed in the Aſſembly by the whole party of the Feuillans, and all the men of moderation who were devoted to no party, but who ſaw the danger of aſſembling 20,000 undiſciplined troops at the capital, and who conſidered this danger as the greater, becauſe it was

promoted by the Jacobins of Paris. It was indeed obvious that this Club, by their influence with the Correſponding Societies in all the departments of France, would be able to have the whole body of the officers compoſed of Jacobins; and that when this army ſhould arrive near Paris, they would be under the direction of thoſe who had the government of the Club of Jacobins there, particularly of Danton, who having returned from Marſeilles had reſumed his influence among them; and of Robeſpierre, who had been cultivating them with equal addreſs and aſſiduity ever ſince the diſſolution of the Conſtituent Aſſembly. Repreſentations of this nature were made to ſome of the leading members of the Gironde; and it was even foretold that thoſe two men would finally eſtabliſh their power on the ruins not only of the Feuillans but of the Girondiſts. Condorcet, Briſſot, and others of

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that party, were too much of philoſophers to believe in prophecies, and at the ſame time ſo eager to bring down the power of the King, that they overlooked a greater danger which threatened them more nearly: like the man who, while he was intently aiming at an eagle in the air, received a mortal bite from an adder at his feet.

Moraliſts need not be ſurpriſed that precept, however eloquently conveyed, ſhould be ineffectual in turning men from enterpriſes to which they are prompted by their paſſions, when they find how often even example fails. Nothing perhaps ever more illuſtrated the ſmall impreſſion which repeated example makes on the minds of men bent upon a favourite object, than the ſucceſſive fates which have attended many of the chief promoters of the French Revolution *.

Although

* Camille Deſmoulins, in a ſpeech delivered in the Jacobin Club about the beginning of May 1793, obſerved

Although Dumourier diſapproved highly of the propoſal of the levies from the departments

ſerved " that the Abbé Maury the royaliſt was vanquiſhed by Mounier and his two houſes of parliament; Mounier and his two houſes by Mirabeau with his abſolute negative; Mirabeau's abſolute negative by the ſuſpenſive veto of Barnave; the veto of Barnave by Briſſot, who would admit of no other negative but that of himſelf and his friends. All theſe rogues," he continues to obſerve, " were ſwept by each other from the Jacobins, to make room for Danton and Robeſpierre, the founders of the indiviſible republic."

He then concludes, in a ſtyle peculiar to himſelf— " Thus Necker, Orleans, La Fayette, Mirabeau, Bailly, Duport, Lameth, Guadet, Genſonné, Petion, Briſſot, have been the impure vaſes from which, in the mould of the Jacobin Club, has been caſt the golden ſtatue of the Republic, after the example of that curate who made his ſilver image of the Virgin out of melted chamber-pots."

But Camille Deſmoulins little thought, when he ſpoke in this light manner at the Jacobin's, that he and his friend Danton were in a very ſhort time to be melted

ments to form an army at the capital, and uſed his influence in the Aſſembly to prevent the decree from paſſing; yet when it had paſſed, and when he ſaw the joy it occaſioned in the capital, he adviſed the King to ſanction both this decree and that againſt the Clergy. All the difficulty and danger of his ſituation could not prevail upon him to adopt this meaſure. He negatived both. This was no ſooner known than freſh torrents of calumny and abuſe were poured from the Jacobin reſervoir againſt the King, againſt all the different races of Kings that have governed France ſince the beginning of the monarchy. Every means were uſed to inflame the people and to terrify the Court.

melted in the ſame mould; nor did Robeſpierre ſuſpect, when he ſacrificed Danton who was his chief protector at the time of Louvet's accuſation, and Camille for whom he had always profeſſed the warmeſt friendſhip, that he himſelf ſhould ſo ſoon fall by thoſe who at that period trembled under his tyranny.

Addreſſes

Addreſſes were read at the bar from different deſcriptions of citizens, thanking the Aſſembly for the two wiſe decrees which had been rejected *by the influence of evil counſellors over the mind of the King*. Proceſſions of men armed with pikes marched from the ſuburbs, with petitions to the Aſſembly to perſevere until the ſanction of both decrees ſhould be obtained. Roland wrote a letter of remonſtrance to the King on his paſt conduct, inſiſting on the neceſſity of removing the veto from the two decrees, and inſinuating that the greateſt and moſt imminent danger would attend any further delay. " Déjà l'opinion compromet les intentions de votre Majeſté ; encore quelque délai, et le Peuple contriſté verra dans ſon Roi l'ami et le complice des conſpirateurs *."

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* Already has public opinion thrown ſuſpicion on your Majeſty's intention. If there ſhould be any fur-

The addreſſers from the ſuburbs who marched with brandiſhed pikes to the Aſſembly had not a more threatening aſpect than this letter. It was more than the forbearance even of Lewis XVI could ſupport. Roland, with Claviere and Servan, was diſmiſſed from the Miniſtry. The former immediately took a meaſure ſtill more unjuſtifiable than writing the letter: he read it to the National Aſſembly, who ordered it to be printed, and tranſmitted to the eighty-three departments, declaring at the ſame time that he and his two colleagues carried with them the regret of the nation. The flame which this kindled againſt the King and the Clergy who refuſed to take the oaths was exceſſive; and if the letter was written leſs with a view to warn the King of an imminent danger than of having it

ther delay in ſanctioning the two decrees, the vexed people will look on their King as the friend and accomplice of the conſpirators.

publiſhed

publiſhed on purpoſe to produce the effect it did produce, which is the opinion of many, the conduct of Roland in this inſtance was unpardonable.

Dumourier was now appointed Miniſter of War; M. Mourgues, a Proteſtant Clergyman, by his recommendation, was appointed to ſucceed Roland; M. Naillac, at that time Envoy from France at the Court of Deux Ponts, was named Miniſter for Foreign Affairs; and the King propoſed M. de Vergennes, nephew to the deceaſed Miniſter of that name, for the Finance; but he declined the office, which remained for ſome time vacant.

Dumourier was conſidered as the Firſt Miniſter; and it required all the courage he poſſeſſed to determine him to accept of ſo perilous a ſituation. The majority of the Aſſembly and the public in general were full of indignation on account of the diſmiſſion of Roland. Dumourier had given

notice that he was to read to the Aſſembly a memorial reſpecting the war. The galleries were crowded on the morning of the 14th of June, when Dumourier entered the Aſſembly. He had been hiſſed by the populace without, as he paſſed through them. The tribunes reſounded with the noiſe of diſapprobation when he entered the hall. He was often interrupted by clamour, as he read his memorial. The determined intrepidity of his look and manner kept the rage of his enemies in ſome check. Having ſigned his memorial, and placed it on the bar, he retired without farther inſult. He again repreſented to the King the neceſſity of yielding to a torrent which threatened to overwhelm him and his family, if he attempted any longer to oppoſe it. The King, it has been thought, ſuſpected that Dumourier wanted to terrify him into this meaſure, with a view that he himſelf might regain the favour of the Jacobins. Whatever

ever may be in that conjecture, the King ſteadily rejected the propoſal. Dumourier reſigned. His example was followed by the other Miniſters. Meſſrs. La Coſte and Duranton were afterwards perſuaded to remain, and form part of a new Adminiſtration; but the latter, having ſoon after carried to the Aſſembly the King's veto to the obnoxious decrees, was ſo terrified with his reception on that occaſion, that he again delivered his reſignation, and retired to the country.

M. La Fayette was on the worſt terms at this period with the Jacobins, with Roland, and the whole party of the Gironde. This was alſo the caſe with Dumourier. A jealouſy at the ſame time ſubſiſted between the latter and M. La Fayette. It might have been expected that a common danger from a formidable enemy would have reconciled thoſe two men to each other. Their mutual intereſt clearly pointed out

this meaſure. The more ſedate character of Engliſhmen generally inclines them to ſacrifice their paſſions, that of hatred at leaſt, to what they conſider as their intereſt. Innumerable inſtances in the courſe of this revolution tend to prove that no conſideration of intereſt, not even the view of impending ruin, can controul the fierce animoſities of the French. It was the opinion of ſome, that a cordial junction of La Fayette with Dumourier, ſupported by the Feuillans and other friends of the Conſtitution, would have been the means of preſerving it. Nothing can be more evident now, than that their continued enmity and diſcord greatly contributed to the ruin of the Conſtitution, of the Royal Family, and of the two Generals themſelves.

When the King perſevered in his veto to the two decrees, he muſt have relied for ſupport on the Feuillans and on M. La

Fayette. But he over-rated their power. He had been accuſtomed to ſee thoſe men who were now at the head of the Feuillant party carry every point; but it was when they were ſtriving not to re-eſtabliſh order but to overſet a government *. The Gironde party now had the ſame advantage over the Feuillans that the latter formerly had over the Mouniers, the Lally Tolendals, the Malouets, and what Robeſpierre and

* It is much eaſier to lead the populace of any country into diſorders of any kind, than to bring them back to order and reſpect for law; becauſe the populace of all countries have a natural taſte for noiſe and riot. Whether the outcry is *Vive le Roi*, or *A bas le veto*; when marrow-bones and cleavers are moſt noiſy, when tallow chandlers bellow the loudeſt for illuminations, the real ſource of the commotion is often miſtaken.

Is it for thee the lark aſcends and ſings?
Joy tunes his voice, joy elevates his wings.
Is it for thee the linnet pours his throat?
Loves of his own and raptures ſwell the note.

Danton acquired over the Gironde as ſoon as Roland and Briſſot began to preach reſpect for the laws, and the reſtoration of order. The King ſeems to have overlooked this diſtinction when he relied on the ſupport of the Feuillans and on M. La Fayette. The latter fell into an error of as great importance, by addreſſing a long letter from the Camp of Maubeuge to the National Aſſembly, complaining of the conduct of the Jacobin Society at Paris, and imputing the dangers and calamities of the country to that ſociety and its branches, which moleſted every department, particularly by inſulting the conſtitutional power of the King, which was one of the chief pillars of law and of liberty. This was accompanied with a letter to the King, encouraging him to perſiſt in ſupporting that authority which the nation had delegated to him, and aſſuring him of the ſupport of

all

all the true friends of freedom and all the moſt reſpectable citizens. The firſt part of this advice was obſerved by the King as much as was poſſible in his ſituation; but the aſſurances given by M. La Fayette failed in a deplorable degree.

When M. La Fayette's letter was read in the Aſſembly, M. Vergniaux repreſented that the remonſtrances of a General at the head of an army to the Aſſembly had the appearance of an attempt to overawe the Legiſlature. Guadet ſaid ironically, that the letter was ſo much in the ſtyle of Cromwell, that it could not poſſibly be written by M. La Fayette. The Jacobins were quite outrageous againſt the General, whom they compared to Cromwell, and propoſed that he ſhould be arreſted and ſent to Orleans as a traitor; they themſelves and their agents in the mean time were exciting the populace to inſurrection, and at laſt they brought on the ſhameful tranſactions of the 20th

of

of June, of which we have given a particular account elſewhere *.

When M. de la Fayette heard of the outrages of that day, he ſet out for the capital. The news of his arrival gave ſatisfaction to all the lovers of order and of the Conſtitution, and ſtruck the Jacobins with alarm. His letter to the Aſſembly fully expreſſed his ſentiments reſpecting their general conduct; every body knew that it had been more atrocious ſince his letter than it had been before; nobody doubted therefore but that his errand to Paris was to bring the authors of that inſurrection to puniſhment, which it was evident the majority of the Aſſembly had no inclination to do; and it was of courſe believed either that his army was in full march after him, or that he was aſſured of ſuch ſupport in the capital itſelf

* Vide A Journal during a Reſidence in France, &c. vol. ii. page 202 to page 222.

as would enable him to accompliſh his purpoſe. The King and the Court were of this opinion. M. La Fayette appeared alone at the bar of the National Aſſembly; this circumſtance ſtrengthened the general conjecture that he was conſcious of being ſupported. In his addreſs to the Aſſembly he began by avowing the letter he had written to them; and in the name of the army and of all good citizens he demanded "the puniſhment of the inſtigators and executors of the violences of the 20th, the ſuppreſſion of the Jacobin Societies, and that the Aſſembly would take meaſures for preventing all attempts againſt the Conſtitution from internal enemies, while the army was repelling foreign foes from the frontiers."

The Aſſembly remained for ſome time in ſilent conſternation. The joy that M. de la Fayette's arrival had given to the Court, and ſome attentions ſhewn him by the National

tional Guards, ſtill impreſſed many of the Deputies with the notion of his having a ſtrong ſupport within the city of Paris. Guadet diſpelled their fears by the briſkneſs of his attack; he inveighed againſt the General for leaving the army, and deſired that the Miniſter of War might be queſtioned whether he had aſked and obtained leave. This produced a debate; and ſeveral ſevere ſpeeches were made by thoſe who would have remained overawed, had not Guadet begun in the bold manner he did. And although it was carried at laſt that no immediate cenſure ſhould be paſſed upon him, yet it tended to diſconcert M. La Fayette very greatly. And ſuch was the activity of the Jacobins among the populace, that the General's friends adviſed him to return to his army, as the only means of preventing his being arreſted. There is every reaſon to believe that the intentions of M. La Fayette were good, but his conduct on this occaſion

certainly

certainly was ill adviſed. For an individual to exact any thing of a body of men ſuch as the National Aſſembly, without having the power of controlling them, is ridiculous; and to imagine that his preſence, without the certainty of being followed by his army, would have a better effect than his letter, was equally ſo.

The feſtival of the Confederation was now at hand; it was celebrated on the 14th of July on the ſame ground, but with fewer ceremonies than the former; the prieſts in particular were leſs numerous, and ſome of the religious ceremonies were entirely omitted. The King and all the Royal Family were preſent. The populace, being left to their natural emotions, made ſome reparation for the outrages of the 20th of June; the ſhouts of *Vive le Roi!* extinguiſhed every attempt that was made of an inſulting nature.

This redoubled the diligence of the Jacobin

bin and Gironde parties; they brought forward all their old means, and invented new ones to prejudice the public againſt the King. La Fayette's letter was repreſented in the Journals as high treaſon againſt the nation. He was called a liberticide, and a ſecond Cromwell; with this difference, that he acted in concert with the King againſt the liberty of the people; and he was accuſed of having propoſed to march with his army againſt Paris. A conſiderable body of Federates, as they are called, arrived from different departments; thoſe from Marſeilles were a ſet of the moſt deſperate fellows on earth, and had been choſen on that account. They committed many diſorders in their march to Paris; and were entirely under the direction of determined republicans. Another proceſſion from the ſuburbs of St. Antoine to the Tuileries was now openly ſpoken of, with a view to oblige the King to remove his veto from the two famous de-

crees,

crees, and to depoſe him in caſe he ſhould refuſe: the Jacobins in general were for the laſt meaſure, without the alternative.

The King's friends were more alarmed than ever for his ſafety, and that of the Royal Family. Another attempt to eſcape from the capital, and out of the reach of his enemies, was thought neceſſary at any riſk. The following plan for that purpoſe was formed by a perſon faithfully attached to the King, and who had held a high office under the Conſtitution. The King and Royal Family were to go to Gaillon, a villa belonging to the Archbiſhop of Rouen, ſituated within three leagues of that city, and twenty leagues from Paris, the preciſe diſtance allowed by the Conſtitution. They were to go out of the Tuileries through the hotel of the Intendant of the Civil Liſt, the communication of which with the palace was only ſeparated by a wooden partition eaſily removed, and guarded by a ſingle

ſentinel,

ſentinel, who was to be ſecured. The principal entry to this hotel was from the court of the Old Louvre, where two or three coaches were uſually ſeen about eleven or twelve at night, belonging to thoſe who ſupped with the Intendant. On the night deſigned for the King's eſcape nobody was to be invited; but two common coaches were to be ready for the reception of the Royal Family, with no attendant except one maid, and two confidential perſons dreſſed like footmen, one behind each carriage. They were to go out of Paris at the uſual hour that thoſe who lived in the neighbourhood and ſupped in town returned to their houſes. The three thouſand Swiſs whom the King had been obliged by a decree to ſend out of the capital, were to be diſtributed at different ſtations on the road from Paris to Pontoiſe. The King's Horſe Guards, who had been lately reduced, and ſtill reſided in the capital, the gallant Count

d'Hervilly their former commander, to whom they were greatly attached, engaged to have all ready at twelve hours previous notice. Their horſes were in the ſtables at Verſailles, which they were to have broken into on the night appointed, and to have met the King within a league of Paris, and accompanied him to Pontoiſe, where they were ſure of finding two regiments of Swiſs, which with the three thouſand above mentioned, and the ſix hundred Horſe Guards under d'Hervilly, would have formed a body of troops ſufficient for the protection of the Royal Family for ſome time at leaſt. The King was to have wrote from Gaillon to the Aſſembly, to inform them of the motives of his departure; and if they ſhould have marched an army to attack him, he was to have removed to Fecamp on the ſea-coaſt, where the Commiſſary of the Marine would have ordered a veſſel for the reception of the Royal Family, to be entirely at the

King's diſpoſal, and to tranſport them wherever he ſhould direct. M. le Fort, an intelligent General Officer, had ſet out from Paris at the end of July for Normandy, on purpoſe to examine Gaillon, its environs, and the coaſt; and to ſound the diſpoſition of the inhabitants. He returned on the fifth of Auguſt with a report favourable for the enterpriſe. The departure of the Royal Family was to have taken place on the night of the ſeventh of Auguſt; every thing was in great forwardneſs for the execution; the utmoſt ſecrecy had been preſerved; but the Queen, independent of the impreſſion which the ill ſucceſs of their former attempt had made on her mind, felt an additional repugnance to the enterpriſe, becauſe the commanding officer of the troops in Normandy was a Conſtitutional Deputy. And although there was no doubt of that nobleman's zeal in protecting the Royal Family on the preſent occaſion, and

of

of his deſire to ſupport the Conſtitution againſt the Jacobins and Girondiſts, yet the circumſtance above-mentioned rendered her more and more averſe to the ſcheme, as the moment of its execution drew nearer. On the evening of the ſixth, ſhe prevailed on the King to ſend a meſſage to the perſon who had the chief direction of the enterpriſe to ſuſpend his preparations, becauſe her Majeſty thought the meaſure ſhould not be adopted until the laſt extremity—little imagining, unfortunate Princeſs! that the laſt extremity was already arrived, and that ſhe would never have another opportunity *.

It

* So unconſcious was the Queen of her danger, and of the horrors that awaited her, that three days after that which had been fixed on for the eſcape, when ſhe and the reſt of the Royal Family were ſeated in the box at the National Aſſembly, on the fatal tenth of Auguſt, immediately before the firing began, ſhe ſaid to M.

 d'Hervilly,

It was imagined that the inevitable conſequence of the King's eſcape would have been involving the nation in a civil war, and other calamities. But what calamities could have been greater than thoſe which have actually taken place? Every perſon of common humanity in Europe, therefore, whatever may be their ſentiments reſpecting the French Revolution in other reſpects, will lament that the eſcape of the Royal Family of France was not effected at this time. Above all, France herſelf has cauſe to lament it, as it would have ſaved her from the deepeſt ſtigma that ever was fixed on a nation.

Is the rejection of this plan of eſcape to be conſidered now as unfortunate for the three perſons who were moſt intereſted in its ſucceſs

d'Hervilly, "Eh bien! M. d'Hervilly, n'avons nous pas bien fait de ne pas partir?" To which that gentleman anſwered, "Je ſouhaite, Madame, que votre Majeſté me faſſe la même queſtion dans ſix mois d'ici."

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at the time, and have been ſince cut off—one of them by a ſentence directly in oppoſition to the Conſtitution adopted and ſworn to by his judges—the other two by the moſt wanton, unmanly, and deteſtable exerciſe of tyranny, that ever revolted the ſoul of humanity.

The murder of the Queen and Princeſs ſeems ſo completely without provocation, view of intereſt, or meaning, as would almoſt tempt us to think that men may by a diabolical perverſion of nature, from habitual crimes come at laſt to love wickedneſs for its own ſake, and find in vice its own reward.

That thoſe three eminent perſons failed in accompliſhing their eſcape, will aſſuredly not be thought unfortunate for their fame in this world; and it is devoutly to be believed that it will contribute to their everlaſting reward in the next.

Had they completed their eſcape, the

King

King would not have had an opportunity of diſplaying that firmneſs of mind and reach of underſtanding which appeared on his trial; nor would he in his laſt will have had occaſion to exhibit a degree of Chriſtian reſignation which equals, and a delicacy and tenderneſs of ſentiment which ſurpaſſes, any thing recorded of the moſt celebrated martyrs of the Roman church.

And the Queen would have had no opportunity of exhibiting that undiſturbed circumſpection and preſence of mind diſcernible in her anſwers to the moſt captious and inſidious interrogatories; particularly when, on the judge expreſſing ſurpriſe at her not knowing a perſon to whom ſhe had rendered great ſervices, ſhe calmly replied, "It is poſſible for thoſe who confer favours to forget them; while thoſe on whom they are conferred find it *impoſſible*." And alſo, when having diſdained to take any notice of a brutal charge which was brought againſt

her, on its being repeated ſhe repelled the monſtrous accuſation by an appeal to human nature, as it exiſts in the hearts of mothers. Indeed, the whole of her conduct from the moment of her confinement tends to render many of thoſe tales which ſlander circulated to her prejudice with ſuch avidity, abſolutely incredible; and the attachment, the affection, the fidelity and dignity, which in the moſt trying ſcenes ſhe manifeſted to her huſband, her children, her friends, and her enemies, throw back a luſtre on the imperial line from which ſhe ſprung, brighter than that which ſhe derived from it.

This cruel arreſt likewiſe afforded the Princeſs Elizabeth the means of proving before a tribunal of atheiſts what a degree of compoſure religion can communicate to a mind naturally timid, and to what elevation it can raiſe a mind naturally unaſſuming. Diſdaining any conceſſion which might ſoften their cruelty, and deſpiſing the wrath

which

which ſhe knew her anſwer would excite, to the firſt interrogatory of the Court, What is your name? ſhe greatly replied, "*My name is Elizabeth of France, ſiſter to the Monarch you murdered, and aunt to your preſent King.*"

Thoſe and other ſcenes of unparalleled cruelty were acted under the influence or during the uſurpation of Robeſpierre.

Thus the French people, having obtained a limited monarchical Conſtitution, under which, with the timely alterations and reforms that experience would have indicated and new circumſtances rendered expedient, the nation might have been proſperous and happy, had they not with equal levity and guilt overthrown it almoſt without a trial.

The French Revolution exhibits at once the miſchiefs that attend the abuſe of power and thoſe that attend the abuſe of liberty; affording a warning to ſovereigns, not only

againſt direct acts of cruelty, but alſo againſt that laviſhneſs of the public money which neceſſarily leads to the oppreſſion of the people, and raiſes general diſcontent and indignation. It affords likewiſe a warning to the ſubjects of every free government againſt all licentious diſregard of law, all attack on the rights of any claſs of their fellow-citizens, or the aſcertained prerogatives of the ſovereign; as every unprovoked attack of that nature tends to render all men's rights inſecure, leads to the horrors of anarchy, and generally terminates in the deſtruction of that liberty they wiſh to preſerve.

THE END.

ERRATA to VOL. II.

Page 176. line 9th, after *Deputies* read *were.*

322. line 16th, for *occurred* read *was added.*

423. line 17th, del. *he had an* before the word *Aſſembly*, and del. alſo *to deal with who* immediately after the ſame word.